920
P74

COLLEGE MISERICORDIA
LIBRARY
DALLAS, PENNSYLVANIA.

College Misericordia Library
Dallas, Pennsylvania

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

EDITED BY

E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D. T. E. PAGE, LITT.D. W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

III

Plutarchus

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN TEN VOLUMES

III

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS
NICIAS AND CRASSUS

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXVI

COLLEGE MEDICO-CHIRURGICAL

PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) texts of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of the one to the other, where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated in the critical notes. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F^a) and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. The text-tradition of the chapters of the *Crassus* (xv.–xxxiii.) which appear in the *Parthian War* attributed to Appian (Pseudo-Appian), is seldom, if ever, superior to that of the same chapters in Plutarch. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

6598

PREFATORY NOTE

Among editions of special *Lives* included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Sauppe series of annotated texts; and that of Blass, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts. These editions bring F^a and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. Holden's edition of the *Nicias*, in the Pitt Press series, Cambridge, 1887, has also been found useful. A brief bibliography for the study of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume.

The translations of the *Pericles* and of the *Nicias* have already appeared in my *Plutarch's Cimon and Pericles* (New York, 1910), and *Plutarch's Nicias and Alcibiades* (New York, 1912), and are reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The translations of the *Fabius Maximus* and of the *Crassus* appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the *Crassus* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
June, 1915.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFATORY NOTE	v
ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES	viii
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES	ix
PERICLES	1
FABIUS MAXIMUS	117
COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS	198
NICIAS	207
CRASSUS	313
COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS	424
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES	439

ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

Volume I.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
Comparison.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.

Volume II.

(4) Themistocles and Camillus.

. . . . .

(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
Comparison.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
Comparison.

Volume III.

(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
Comparison.
(14) Nicias and Crassus.
Comparison.

Volume IV.

(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
Comparison.
(12) Lysander and Sulla.
Comparison.

Volume V.

(16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
Comparison.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
Comparison.

Volume VI.

(22) Dion and Brutus.
Comparison.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
Comparison.
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero
Comparison.

Volume VII.

(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.

. . . . .

(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
Comparison.

Volume VIII.

(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.

. . . . .

(21) Demetrius and Antony.
Comparison.

Volume IX.

(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.

. . . . .

(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.
Comparison.

Volume X.

(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
Comparison.
(23) Aratus.
(24) Artaxerxes
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.

THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
(4) Themistocles and Camillus.
(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
(12) Lysander and Sulla.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
(14) Nicias and Crassus.
(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
(16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
(21) Demetrius and Antony.
(22) Dion and Brutus.

. . . . . .

(23) Aratus.
(24) Artaxerxes.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.

PERICLES

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ

Paris Edition a. 1624 p. 152

I. Ξένους τινὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πλουσίους κυνῶν τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις περιφέροντας καὶ ἀγαπῶντας ἰδὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ παιδία παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἡγεμονικῶς σφόδρα νουθετήσας τοὺς τὸ φύσει φιλητικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ φιλόστοργον εἰς θηρία καταναλίσκοντας ἀνθρώποις ὀφειλόμενον. 2 ἆρ' οὖν, ἐπεὶ φιλομαθές τι κέκτηται καὶ φιλοθέαμον ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ φύσει, λόγον ἔχει ψέγειν τοὺς καταχρωμένους τούτῳ πρὸς τὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἄξια σπουδῆς ἀκούσματα καὶ θεάματα, τῶν δὲ καλῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων παραμελοῦντας; τῇ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθήσει κατὰ πάθος τῆς πληγῆς ἀντιλαμβανομένῃ τῶν προστυγχανόντων ἴσως ἀνάγκη πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον, ἄν τε χρήσιμον ἄν τ' ἄχρηστον ᾖ, 3 θεωρεῖν, τῷ νῷ δ' ἕκαστος εἰ βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι, καὶ τρέπειν ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ μεταβάλλειν ῥᾷστα πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν πέφυκεν, ὥστε χρὴ διώκειν τὸ βέλτιστον, ἵνα μὴ θεωρῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρέφηται τῷ θεωρεῖν. ὡς γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ χρόα πρόσφορος ἧς τὸ ἀνθηρὸν ἅμα καὶ τερπνὸν ἀναζωπυρεῖ

PERICLES

I. On seeing certain wealthy foreigners in Rome carrying puppies and young monkeys about in their bosoms and fondling them, Caesar [1] asked, we are told, if the women in their country did not bear children, thus in right princely fashion rebuking those who squander on animals that proneness to love and loving affection which is ours by nature, and which is due only to our fellow-men. Since, then, our souls are by nature possessed of great fondness for learning and fondness for seeing, it is surely reasonable to chide those who abuse this fondness on objects all unworthy either of their eyes or ears, to the neglect of those which are good and serviceable. Our outward sense, since it apprehends the objects which encounter it by virtue of their mere impact upon it, must needs, perhaps, regard everything that presents itself, be it useful or useless; but in the exercise of his mind every man, if he pleases, has the natural power to turn himself away in every case, and to change, without the least difficulty, to that object upon which he himself determines. It is meet, therefore, that he pursue what is best, to the end that he may not merely regard it, but also be edified by regarding it. A colour is suited to the eye if its freshness, and its pleasantness as well, stimulates and

[1] Caesar Augustus.

καὶ τρέφει τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπάγειν δεῖ θεάμασιν ἃ τῷ χαίρειν πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτὴν ἀγαθὸν ἐκκαλεῖ.

4 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἔργοις, ἃ καὶ ζῆλόν τινα καὶ προθυμίαν ἀγωγὸν εἰς μίμησιν ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ἱστορήσασιν·[1] ἐπεὶ τῶν γ' ἄλλων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ θαυμάσαι τὸ πραχθὲν ὁρμὴ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὐναντίον χαίροντες τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καταφρονοῦμεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν μύρων καὶ τῶν ἁλουργῶν τούτοις μὲν ἡδόμεθα, τοὺς δὲ βαφεῖς καὶ μυρεψοὺς ἀνελευθέρους ἡγούμεθα καὶ βαναύσους.

5 διὸ καλῶς μὲν Ἀντισθένης ἀκούσας ὅτι σπουδαῖός ἐστιν αὐλητὴς Ἰσμηνίας, "Ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος," ἔφη, "μοχθηρός· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτω σπουδαῖος ἦν αὐλητής." ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιτερπῶς ἔν τινι πότῳ ψήλαντα καὶ τεχνικῶς εἶπεν· "Οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ καλῶς οὕτω ψάλλων;" ἀρκεῖ γάρ, ἂν βασιλεὺς ἀκροᾶσθαι ψαλλόντων σχολάζῃ, καὶ πολὺ νέμει ταῖς Μούσαις ἑτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα θεατὴς γιγνόμενος.

II. Ἡ δ' αὐτουργία τῶν ταπεινῶν τῆς εἰς τὰ 153
καλὰ ῥᾳθυμίας μάρτυρα τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀχρήστοις πόνον παρέχεται καθ' αὑτῆς· καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυὴς νέος ἢ τὸν ἐν Πίσῃ θεασάμενος Δία γενέσθαι Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν ἢ τὴν Ἥραν τὴν ἐν Ἄργει Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ' Ἀνακρέων ἢ Φιλητᾶς ἢ Ἀρχί-

2 λοχος ἡσθεὶς αὐτῶν τοῖς ποιήμασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ τέρπει τὸ ἔργον ὡς χάριεν, ἄξιον

[1] ἱστορήσασιν Bekker, Fuhr, and Blass, with Reiske, after Amyot: ἱστορήμασιν (researches).

nourishes the vision; and so our intellectual vision must be applied to such objects as, by their very charm, invite it onward to its own proper good.

Such objects are to be found in virtuous deeds; these implant in those who search them out a great and zealous eagerness which leads to imitation. In other cases, admiration of the deed is not immediately accompanied by an impulse to do it. Nay, many times, on the contrary, while we delight in the work, we despise the workman, as, for instance, in the case of perfumes and dyes: we take a delight in them, but dyers and perfumers we regard as illiberal and vulgar folk. Therefore it was a fine saying of Antisthenes, when he heard that Ismenias was an excellent piper: "But he's a worthless man," said he, "otherwise he wouldn't be so good a piper." And so Philip [1] once said to his son, who, as the wine went round, plucked the strings charmingly and skilfully, "Art not ashamed to pluck the strings so well?" It is enough, surely, if a king have leisure to hear others pluck the strings, and he pays great deference to the Muses if he be but a spectator of such contests.

II. Labour with one's own hands on lowly tasks gives witness, in the toil thus expended on useless things, to one's own indifference to higher things. No generous youth, from seeing the Zeus at Pisa,[2] or the Hera at Argos, longs to be Pheidias or Polycleitus; nor to be Anacreon or Philetas or Archilochus out of pleasure in their poems. For it does not of necessity follow that, if the work delights you with its grace, the one who wrought it is worthy of your

[1] Philip of Macedon, to Alexander.
[2] That is, Olympia.

σπουδῆς εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον. ὅθεν οὐδ' ὠφελεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς θεωμένους, πρὸς ἃ μιμητικὸς οὐ γίνεται ζῆλος οὐδὲ ἀνάδοσις κινοῦσα προθυμίαν καὶ ὁρμὴν[1] ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν. ἀλλ' ἥ γε ἀρετὴ ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐθὺς οὕτω διατίθησιν ὥστε ἅμα θαυμάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ζηλοῦσθαι τοὺς εἰργα-
3 σμένους. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν τὰς κτήσεις καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, τῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς τὰς πράξεις ἀγαπῶμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμῖν παρ' ἑτέρων, τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἑτέροις παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν βουλόμεθα. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐφ' αὑτὸ πρακτικῶς κινεῖ καὶ πρακτικὴν εὐθὺς ὁρμὴν ἐντίθησιν, ἠθοποιοῦν οὐ τῇ μιμήσει τὸν θεατήν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου τὴν προαίρεσιν παρεχόμενον.

4 Ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνδιατρῖψαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς βίους ἀναγραφῇ, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον συντετάχαμεν τὸν Περικλέους βίον καὶ τὸν Φαβίου Μαξίμου τοῦ διαπολεμήσαντος πρὸς Ἀννίβαν περιέχον, ἀνδρῶν κατά τε τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ὁμοίων, μάλιστα δὲ πραότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι φέρειν δήμων καὶ συναρχόντων ἀγνωμοσύνας ὠφελιμωτάτων ταῖς πατρίσι γενομένων. εἰ δ' ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμεθα τοῦ δέοντος, ἔξεστι κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν γραφομένων.

ΙΙΙ. Περικλῆς γὰρ ἦν τῶν μὲν φυλῶν Ἀκαμαντίδης, τῶν δὲ δήμων Χολαργεύς, οἴκου δὲ καὶ γένους τοῦ πρώτου κατ' ἀμφοτέρους. Ξάνθιππος γὰρ ὁ νικήσας ἐν Μυκάλῃ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς ἔγημεν Ἀγαρίστην Κλεισθένους ἔγγονον, ὃς

[1] ὁρμὴν Fuhr and Blass, after Reiske: ἀφορμήν.

esteem. Wherefore the spectator is not advantaged by those things at sight of which no ardour for imitation arises in the breast, nor any uplift of the soul arousing zealous impulses to do the like. But virtuous action straightway so disposes a man that he no sooner admires the works of virtue than he strives to emulate those who wrought them. The good things of Fortune we love to possess and enjoy; those of Virtue we love to perform. The former we are willing should be ours at the hands of others; the latter we wish that others rather should have at our hands. The Good creates a stir of activity towards itself, and implants at once in the spectator an active impulse; it does not form his character by ideal representation alone, but through the investigation of its work it furnishes him with a dominant purpose.

For such reasons I have decided to persevere in my writing of Lives, and so have composed this tenth book, containing the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who waged such lengthy war with Hannibal. The men were alike in their virtues, and more especially in their gentleness and rectitude, and by their ability to endure the follies of their peoples and of their colleagues in office, they proved of the greatest service to their countries. But whether I aim correctly at the proper mark must be decided from what I have written.

III. Pericles was of the tribe Acamantis, of the deme Cholargus, and of the foremost family and lineage on both sides. His father, Xanthippus, who conquered the generals of the King at Mycale,[1] married Agariste, granddaughter[2] of that Cleisthenes

[1] 479 B.C. [2] His niece, rather.

ἐξήλασε Πεισιστρατίδας καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν τυραννίδα γενναίως καὶ νόμους ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν ἄριστα κεκραμένην πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ σωτηρίαν
2 κατέστησεν. αὕτη κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἔδοξε τεκεῖν λέοντα, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἔτεκε Περικλέα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος ἄμεμπτον, προμήκη δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ[1] καὶ ἀσύμμετρον. ὅθεν αἱ μὲν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἅπασαι κράνεσι περιέχονται, μὴ βουλομένων, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐξονειδίζειν. οἱ δ' Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ σχινοκέφαλον αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν· τὴν γὰρ σκίλλαν ἔστιν
3 ὅτε καὶ σχῖνον ὀνομάζουσι. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρωσι· "Στάσις δὲ" (φησὶ) "καὶ πρεσβυγενὴς Κρόνος ἀλλήλοισι μιγέντε μέγιστον τίκτετον τύραννον, ὃν δὴ κεφαληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσι·" καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει· "Μόλ',
4 ὦ Ζεῦ ξένιε καὶ καραιέ." Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἠπορημένον καθῆσθαί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει "καρηβαροῦντα, ποτὲ δὲ μόνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἑνδεκακλίνου θόρυβον πολὺν ἐξανατέλλειν·" ὁ δ' Εὔπολις ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις πυνθανόμενος περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων ἐξ ᾅδου δημαγωγῶν, ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς ὠνομάσθη τελευταῖος·

Ὅ τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἤγαγες.

IV. Διδάσκαλον δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μουσικῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι Δάμωνα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὗ φασι

[1] τῇ κεφαλῇ Fuhr and Blass with F[a]S : τὴν κεφαλήν.

who, in such noble fashion, expelled the Peisistratidae and destroyed their tyranny, instituted laws, and established a constitution best attempered for the promotion of harmony and safety. She, in her dreams, once fancied that she had given birth to a lion, and a few days thereafter bore Pericles.[1] His personal appearance was unimpeachable, except that his head was rather long and out of due proportion. For this reason the images of him, almost all of them, wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with deformity. The comic poets of Attica used to call him "Schinocephalus," or *Squill-head* (the squill is sometimes called "schinus"). So the comic poet Cratinus, in his "Cheirons," says: "Faction and Saturn, that ancient of days, were united in wedlock; their offspring was of all tyrants the greatest, and lo! he is called by the gods the head-compeller."[2] And again in his "Nemesis": "Come, Zeus! of guests and heads the Lord!"[2] And Telecleides speaks of him as sitting on the acropolis in the greatest perplexity, "now heavy of head, and now alone, from the eleven-couched chamber of his head, causing vast uproar to arise."[2] And Eupolis, in his "Demes," having inquiries made about each one of the demagogues as they come up from Hades, says, when Pericles is called out last:—

"The very head of those below hast thou now brought."[2]

IV. His teacher in music, most writers state, was Damon (whose name, they say, should be pronounced

[1] Cf. Herodotus, vi. 131.
[2] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 86; p. 49; p. 220; p. 280.

δεῖν τοὔνομα βραχύνοντας τὴν προτέραν συλλαβὴν ἐκφέρειν· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ παρὰ Πυθοκλείδῃ μουσικὴν διαπονηθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα φησίν. ὁ δὲ Δάμων ἔοικεν ἄκρος ὢν σοφιστὴς καταδύεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς ὄνομα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὴν δεινότητα, τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ 154
συνὴν καθάπερ ἀθλητῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτης
2 καὶ διδάσκαλος. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθεν ὁ Δάμων τῇ λύρᾳ παρακαλύμματι χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ φιλοτύραννος ἐξωστρακίσθη καὶ παρέσχε τοῖς κωμικοῖς διατριβήν. ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων καὶ πυνθανόμενον αὐτοῦ τινα πεποίηκεν οὕτω·

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι λέξον, ἀντιβολῶ· σὺ γάρ,
ὡς φασιν, ὁ Χείρων ἐξέθρεψας Περικλέα.

3 διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου πραγματευομένου περὶ φύσιν, ὡς Παρμενίδης, ἐλεγκτικὴν δέ τινα καὶ δι' ἀντιλογίας κατακλείουσαν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐξασκήσαντος ἕξιν, ὥσπερ καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος εἴρηκε διὰ τούτων·

Ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνὸν
Ζήνωνος, πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος.

4 Ὁ δὲ πλεῖστα Περικλεῖ συγγενόμενος καὶ μάλιστα περιθεὶς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ἐμβριθέστερον, ὅλως τε μετεωρίσας καὶ συνεξάρας τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἤθους, Ἀναξαγόρας ἦν ὁ Κλαζομένιος, ὃν οἱ τότ' ἄνθρωποι Νοῦν προσ-

with the first syllable short); but Aristotle[1] says he had a thorough musical training at the hands of Pythocleides. Now Damon seems to have been a consummate sophist, but to have taken refuge behind the name of music in order to conceal from the multitude his real power, and he associated with Pericles, that political athlete, as it were, in the capacity of rubber and trainer. However, Damon was not left unmolested in this use of his lyre as a screen, but was ostracized for being a great schemer and a friend of tyranny, and became a butt of the comic poets. At all events, Plato[2] represented some one as inquiring of him thus:—

"In the first place tell me then, I beseech thee, thou who art
The Cheiron, as they say, who to Pericles gave his craft."

Pericles was also a pupil of Zeno the Eleatic, who discoursed on the natural world, like Parmenides, and perfected a species of refutative catch which was sure to bring an opponent to grief; as Timon of Phlius expressed it:—

"His was a tongue that could argue both ways with a fury resistless,
Zeno's; assailer of all things."

But the man who most consorted with Pericles, and did most to clothe him with a majestic demeanour that had more weight than any demagogue's appeals, yes, and who lifted on high and exalted the dignity of his character, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, whom men of that day used to call

[1] Plato, rather, *Alcibiades I.* 118 c.
[2] Plato the comic poet. Kock *Com. Att. Frag*, i. p. 655.

ἡγόρευον, εἴτε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰς φυσιολογίαν καὶ περιττὴν διαφανεῖσαν θαυμάσαντες, εἴθ' ὅτι τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος οὐ τύχην οὐδ' ἀνάγκην διακοσμήσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπέστησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἄκρατον ἐν μεμιγμένοις πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὁμοιομερείας.

V. Τοῦτον ὑπερφυῶς τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάσας ὁ Περικλῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης μετεωρολογίας καὶ μεταρσιολεσχίας ὑποπιμπλάμενος, οὐ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ φρόνημα σοβαρὸν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑψηλὸν εἶχε καὶ καθαρὸν ὀχλικῆς καὶ πανούργου βωμολοχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσώπου σύστασις ἄθρυπτος εἰς γέλωτα καὶ πρᾳότης πορείας καὶ καταστολὴ περιβολῆς πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκταραττομένη πάθος ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ πλάσμα φωνῆς ἀθόρυβον, καὶ ὅσα
2 τοιαῦτα πάντας θαυμαστῶς ἐξέπληττε. λοιδορούμενος γοῦν ποτε καὶ κακῶς ἀκούων ὑπό τινος τῶν βδελυρῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων ὅλην ἡμέραν ὑπέμεινε σιωπῇ κατ' ἀγοράν, ἅμα τι τῶν ἐπειγόντων καταπραττόμενος· ἑσπέρας δ' ἀπῄει κοσμίως οἰκαδε παρακολουθοῦντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάσῃ
3 χρωμένου βλασφημίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὡς δ' ἔμελλεν εἰσιέναι σκότους ὄντος ἤδη, προσέταξέ τινι τῶν οἰκετῶν φῶς λαβόντι παραπέμψαι καὶ καταστῆσαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς Ἴων μοθωνικήν φησι τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ ὑπότυφον εἶναι τοῦ Περικλέους, καὶ ταῖς

"Nous," either because they admired that comprehension of his, which proved of such surpassing greatness in the investigation of nature; or because he was the first to enthrone in the universe, not Chance, nor yet Necessity, as the source of its orderly arrangement, but Mind (Nous) pure and simple, which distinguishes and sets apart, in the midst of an otherwise chaotic mass, the substances which have like elements.

V. This man Pericles extravagantly admired, and being gradually filled full of the so-called higher philosophy and elevated speculation, he not only had, as it seems, a spirit that was solemn and a discourse that was lofty and free from plebeian and reckless effrontery, but also a composure of countenance that never relaxed into laughter, a gentleness of carriage and cast of attire that suffered no emotion to disturb it while he was speaking, a modulation of voice that was far from boisterous, and many similar characteristics which struck all his hearers with wondering amazement. It is, at any rate, a fact that, once on a time when he had been abused and insulted all day long by a certain lewd fellow of the baser sort, he endured it all quietly, though it was in the market-place, where he had urgent business to transact, and towards evening went away homewards unruffled, the fellow following along and heaping all manner of contumely upon him. When he was about to go in doors, it being now dark, he ordered a servant to take a torch and escort the fellow in safety back to his own home.

The poet Ion, however, says that Pericles had a presumptuous and somewhat arrogant manner of

μεγαλαυχίαις αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν ἀναμεμῖχθαι καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων· ἐπαινεῖ δὲ τὸ Κίμωνος ἐμμελὲς καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ μεμουσωμένον
4 ἐν ταῖς περιφοραῖς. ἀλλ' Ἴωνα μέν, ὥσπερ τραγικὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἀξιοῦντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν τι πάντως καὶ σατυρικὸν μέρος ἐῶμεν· τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους τὴν σεμνότητα δοξοκοπίαν τε καὶ τῦφον ἀποκαλοῦντας ὁ Ζήνων παρεκάλει καὶ αὐτούς τι τοιοῦτο δοξοκοπεῖν, ὡς τῆς προσποιήσεως αὐτῆς τῶν καλῶν ὑποποιούσης τινὰ λεληθότως ζῆλον καὶ συνήθειαν.

VI. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου συνουσίας ἀπέλαυσε Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καθυπέρτερος, ὅσην τὸ[1] πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα θάμβος ἐνεργάζεται τοῖς αὐτῶν τε τούτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα δαιμονῶσι καὶ ταραττομένοις δι' ἀπειρίαν αὐτῶν, ἣν ὁ φυσικὸς λόγος ἀπαλλάττων ἀντὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς καὶ φλεγμαινούσης δεισιδαιμονίας τὴν ἀσφαλῆ μετ' ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εὐσέβειαν ἐργάζεται.
2 Λέγεται δέ ποτε κριοῦ μονόκερω κεφαλὴν ἐξ ἀγροῦ τῷ Περικλεῖ κομισθῆναι, καὶ Λάμπωνα μὲν τὸν μάντιν, ὡς εἶδε τὸ κέρας ἰσχυρὸν καὶ στερεὸν ἐκ μέσου τοῦ μετώπου πεφυκός, εἰπεῖν ὅτι δυεῖν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναστειῶν, τῆς Θουκυδίδου 155
καὶ Περικλέους, εἰς ἕνα περιστήσεται τὸ κράτος

[1] ὅσην τὸ older edd., Coraës, Fuhr and Blass; Bekker ὅση with the MSS.: ὅσην.

address, and that into his haughtiness there entered a good deal of disdain and contempt for others; he praises, on the other hand, the tact, complaisance, and elegant address which Cimon showed in his social intercourse.[1] But we must ignore Ion, with his demand that virtue, like a dramatic tetralogy, have some sort of a farcical appendage. Zeno, when men called the austerity of Pericles a mere thirst for reputation, and swollen conceit, urged them to have some such thirst for reputation themselves, with the idea that the very assumption of nobility might in time produce, all unconsciously, something like an eager and habitual practice of it.

VI. These were not the only advantages Pericles had of his association with Anaxagoras. It appears that he was also lifted by him above superstition, that feeling which is produced by amazement at what happens in regions above us. It affects those who are ignorant of the causes of such things, and are crazed about divine intervention, and confounded through their inexperience in this domain; whereas the doctrines of natural philosophy remove such ignorance and inexperience, and substitute for timorous and inflamed superstition that unshaken reverence which is attended by a good hope.

A story is told that once on a time the head of a one-horned ram was brought to Pericles from his country-place, and that Lampon the seer, when he saw how the horn grew strong and solid from the middle of the forehead, declared that, whereas there were two powerful parties in the city, that of Thucydides and that of Pericles, the mastery would finally devolve upon one man,—the man to

[1] Cf. *Cimon*, ix.

παρ' ᾧ γένοιτο τὸ σημεῖον· τὸν δ' Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦ κρανίου διακοπέντος ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον οὐ πεπληρωκότα τὴν βάσιν, ἀλλ' ὀξὺν ὥσπερ ᾠὸν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγγείου συνωλισθηκότα κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὅθεν ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ κέρατος εἶχε
3 τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τότε μὲν θαυμασθῆναι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον τὸν Λάμπωνα, τοῦ μὲν Θουκυδίδου καταλυθέντος, τῶν δὲ τοῦ δήμου πραγμάτων ὁμαλῶς ἁπάντων ὑπὸ τῷ Περικλεῖ γενομένων.

Ἐκώλυε δ' οὐδέν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ τὸν μάντιν, τοῦ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ τέλος καλῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντος· ὑπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ μέν, ἐκ τίνων γέγονε καὶ πῶς πέφυκε, θεωρῆσαι, τῷ δέ, πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ τί σημαίνει,
4 προειπεῖν. οἱ δὲ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν εὕρεσιν ἀναίρεσιν εἶναι λέγοντες τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ἐπινοοῦσιν ἅμα τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ τῶν συμβόλων ἀθετοῦντες, ψόφους τε δίσκων καὶ φῶτα πυρσῶν καὶ γνωμόνων ἀποσκιασμούς· ὧν ἕκαστον αἰτίᾳ τινὶ καὶ κατασκευῇ σημεῖον εἶναί τινος πεποίηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἑτέρας ἐστὶ πραγματείας.

VII. Ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς νέος μὲν ὢν σφόδρα τὸν δῆμον εὐλαβεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει Πεισιστράτῳ τῷ τυράννῳ τὸ εἶδος ἐμφερὴς εἶναι, τήν τε φωνὴν ἡδεῖαν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν εὔτροχον ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ταχεῖαν οἱ σφόδρα γέροντες ἐξεπλήττοντο πρὸς τὴν

whom this sign had been given. Anaxagoras, however, had the skull cut in two, and showed that the brain had not filled out its position, but had drawn together to a point, like an egg, at that particular spot in the entire cavity where the root of the horn began. At that time, the story says, it was Anaxagoras who won the plaudits of the bystanders; but a little while after it was Lampon, for Thucydides was overthrown, and Pericles was entrusted with the entire control of all the interests of the people.

Now there was nothing, in my opinion, to prevent both of them, the naturalist and the seer, from being in the right of the matter; the one correctly divined the cause, the other the object or purpose. It was the proper province of the one to observe why anything happens, and how it comes to be what it is; of the other to declare for what purpose anything happens, and what it means. And those who declare that the discovery of the cause, in any phenomenon, does away with the meaning, do not perceive that they are doing away not only with divine portents, but also with artificial tokens, such as the ringing of gongs, the language of fire-signals, and the shadows of the pointers on sun-dials. Each of these has been made, through some causal adaptation, to have some meaning. However, perhaps this is matter for a different treatise.

VII. As a young man, Pericles was exceedingly reluctant to face the people, since it was thought that in feature he was like the tyrant Peisistratus; and when men well on in years remarked also that his voice was sweet, and his tongue glib and speedy in discourse, they were struck with amazement at

ὁμοιότητα. πλούτου δὲ καὶ γένους προσόντος αὐτῷ λαμπροῦ καὶ φίλων οἱ πλεῖστον ἠδύναντο, φοβούμενος ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατείαις ἀνὴρ
2 ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἀποτεθνήκει καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξεπεπτώκει, Κίμωνα δ' αἱ στρατεῖαι τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔξω κατεῖχον, οὕτω δὴ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ὀλίγων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πενήτων ἑλόμενος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἥκιστα δημοτικὴν οὖσαν.
3 ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, δεδιὼς μὲν ὑποψίᾳ περιπεσεῖν τυραννίδος, ὁρῶν δ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπώμενον, ὑπῆλθε τοὺς πολλούς, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, δύναμιν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνου παρασκευαζόμενος.
4 Εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἑτέραν τάξιν ἐπέθηκεν. ὁδόν τε γὰρ ἐν ἄστει μίαν ἐωρᾶτο τὴν ἐπ' ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον πορευόμενος, κλήσεις τε δείπνων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπασαν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνήθειαν ἐξέλιπεν, ὡς ἐν οἷς ἐπολιτεύσατο χρόνοις μακροῖς γενομένοις πρὸς μηδένα τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθεῖν, πλὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ γαμοῦντος ἄχρι τῶν

the resemblance. Besides, since he was rich, of brilliant lineage, and had friends of the greatest influence, he feared that he might be ostracized, and so at first had naught to do with politics, but devoted himself rather to a military career, where he was brave and enterprising. However, when Aristides was dead,[1] and Themistocles in banishment,[2] and Cimon was kept by his campaigns for the most part abroad, then at last Pericles decided to devote himself to the people, espousing the cause of the poor and the many instead of the few and the rich, contrary to his own nature, which was anything but popular. But he feared, as it would seem, to encounter a suspicion of aiming at tyranny, and when he saw that Cimon was very aristocratic in his sympathies, and was held in extraordinary affection by the party of the "Good and True," he began to court the favour of the multitude, thereby securing safety for himself, and power to wield against his rival.

Straightway, too, he made a different ordering in his way of life. On one street only in the city was he to be seen walking,—the one which took him to the market-place and the council-chamber. Invitations to dinner, and all such friendly and familiar intercourse, he declined, so that during the long period that elapsed while he was at the head of the state, there was not a single friend to whose house he went to dine, except that when his kinsman Euryptolemus gave a wedding feast, he attended until the libations were made,[3] and then

[1] Soon after 468 B.C. [2] After 472 B.C.

[3] That is, until the wine for the symposium was brought in, and drinking began.

σπουδῶν παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐξανέστη. δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ φιλοφροσύναι παντὸς ὄγκου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ δυσφύλακτον ἐν συνηθείᾳ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν σεμνόν ἐστι· τῆς ἀληθινῆς δ' ἀρετῆς κάλλιστα φαίνεται τὰ μάλιστα φαινόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν οὕτω θαυμάσιον τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὡς ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν βίος τοῖς συνοῦσιν.

Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ[1] τὸ συνεχὲς φεύγων καὶ τὸν κόρον οἷον ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἐπλησίαζεν, οὐκ ἐπὶ παντὶ πράγματι λέγων, οὐδ' ἀεὶ παριὼν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν τριήρη, φησὶ Κριτόλαος, πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας χρείας ἐπιδιδούς, τἆλλα δὲ φίλους καὶ ῥήτορας
6 ἑτέρους καθιεὶς ἔπραττεν. ὧν ἕνα φασὶ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐφιάλτην, ὃς κατέλυσε τὸ κράτος τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, πολλήν, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, καὶ ἄκρατον τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν οἰνοχοῶν, ὑφ' ἧς, ὥσπερ ἵππον, ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δῆμον οἱ κωμῳδοποιοὶ λέγουσι "πειθαρχεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾶν, ἀλλὰ δάκνειν τὴν Εὔβοιαν καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπιπηδᾶν."

VIII. Τῇ μέντοι περὶ τὸν βίον κατασκευῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ φρονήματος ἁρμόζοντα λόγον, ὥσπερ ὄργανον, ἐξαρτυόμενος παρενέτεινε πολλαχοῦ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, οἷον βαφὴν τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὴν φυσιολογίαν ὑποχεόμενος. τὸ γὰρ "ὑψη-

[1] τῷ δήμῳ Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : τοῦ δήμου.

straightway rose up and departed. Conviviality is prone to break down and overpower the haughtiest reserve, and in familiar intercourse the dignity which is assumed for appearance's sake is very hard to maintain. Whereas, in the case of true and genuine virtue, "fairest appears what most appears," and nothing in the conduct of good men is so admirable in the eyes of strangers, as their daily walk and conversation is in the eyes of those who share it.

And so it was that Pericles, seeking to avoid the satiety which springs from continual intercourse, made his approaches to the people by intervals, as it were, not speaking on every question, nor addressing the people on every occasion, but offering himself like the Salaminian trireme, as Critolaüs says, for great emergencies. The rest of his policy he carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, as they say, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Council of the Areiopagus, and so poured out for the citizens, to use the words of Plato,[1] too much "undiluted freedom," by which the people was rendered unruly, just like a horse, and, as the comic poets say, "no longer had the patience to obey the rein, but nabbed Euboea and trampled on the islands."

VIII. Moreover, by way of providing himself with a style of discourse which was adapted, like a musical instrument, to his mode of life and the grandeur of his sentiments, he often made an auxiliary string of Anaxagoras, subtly mingling, as it were, with his rhetoric the dye of natural science.

[1] *Republic*, viii. p. 562 c.

λόνουν τοῦτο καὶ πάντη τελεσιουργόν," ὡς ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων φησί, "πρὸς τῷ εὐφυῆς εἶναι κτησάμενος" ἐκ φυσιολογίας, καὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἑλκύσας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην, πολὺ πάντων
2 διήνεγκε. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι· καίτοι τινὲς ἀπὸ τῶν οἷς ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς στρατηγίαις δυνάμεως Ὀλύμπιον αὐτὸν οἴονται προσαγορευθῆναι· καὶ συνδραμεῖν οὐδὲν ἀπέοικεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν προσόντων τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν δόξαν.
3 αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδίαι τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδῇ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνυμίαν γενέσθαι δηλοῦσι, "βροντᾶν" μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ "ἀστράπτειν," ὅτε δημηγοροίη, "δεινὸν δὲ κεραυνὸν ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν" λεγόντων.

Διαμνημονεύεται δέ τις καὶ Θουκυδίδου τοῦ Μελησίου λόγος εἰς τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Περι-
4 κλέους μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰρημένος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θουκυδίδης τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πλεῖστον ἀντεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Περικλεῖ χρόνον· Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως πυνθανομένου πότερον αὐτὸς ἢ Περικλῆς παλαίει βέλτιον, "Ὅταν," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ καταβάλω παλαίων, ἐκεῖνος ἀντιλέγων ὡς οὐ πέπτωκε, νικᾷ καὶ μεταπείθει τοὺς ὁρῶντας."

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περικλῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον εὐλαβὴς ἦν, ὥστ' ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ βῆμα

It was from natural science, as the divine Plato says,[1] that he "acquired his loftiness of thought and perfectness of execution, in addition to his natural gifts," and by applying what he learned to the art of speaking, he far excelled all other speakers. It was thus, they say, that he got his surname; though some suppose it was from the structures with which he adorned the city, and others from his ability as a statesman and a general, that he was called Olympian. It is not at all unlikely that his reputation was the result of the blending in him of many high qualities. But the comic poets of that day, who let fly, both in earnest and in jest, many shafts of speech against him, make it plain that he got this surname chiefly because of his diction; they spoke of him as "thundering" and "lightening" when he harangued his audience,[2] and as "wielding a dread thunderbolt in his tongue."

There is on record also a certain saying of Thucydides, the son of Melesias, touching the clever persuasiveness of Pericles, a saying uttered in jest. Thucydides belonged to the party of the "Good and True," and was for a very long time a political antagonist of Pericles. When Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, asked him whether he or Pericles was the better wrestler, he replied: "Whenever I throw him in wrestling, he disputes the fall, and carries his point, and persuades the very men who saw him fall."

The truth is, however, that even Pericles, with all his gifts, was cautious in his discourse, so that when-

[1] *Phaedrus*, p. 270 a.
[2] Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 528–531.

βαδίζων εὔχετο τοῖς θεοῖς μηδὲ ῥῆμα μηδὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην
5 χρείαν ἀνάρμοστον. ἔγγραφον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπολέλοιπε πλὴν τῶν ψηφισμάτων· ἀπομνημονεύεται δ' ὀλίγα παντάπασιν· οἷον τὸ τὴν Αἴγιναν ὡς λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κελεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν πόλεμον ἤδη φάναι καθορᾶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου προσφερόμενον. καί ποτε τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὅτε συστρατηγῶν ἐξέπλευσε μετ' αὐτοῦ, παῖδα καλὸν ἐπαινέσαντος, "Οὐ μόνον," ἔφη, "τὰς χεῖρας, ὦ Σοφόκλεις, δεῖ καθαρὰς ἔχειν τὸν στρατηγόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς
6 ὄψεις." ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτός φησιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεούς· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὁρῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσιν, ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα· ταῦτ' οὖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀριστοκρατικήν τινα τὴν τοῦ Περικλέους ὑπογράφει πολιτείαν, "λόγῳ μὲν οὖσαν δημοκρατίαν, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχήν," ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνου φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι, κακῶς ἐθισθέντα καὶ γενόμενον πολυτελῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὑπὸ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἀντὶ σώ-

ever he came forward to speak he prayed the gods that there might not escape him unawares a single word which was unsuited to the matter under discussion. In writing he left nothing behind him except the decrees which he proposed, and only a few in all of his memorable sayings are preserved, as, for instance, his urging the removal of Ægina as the "eye-sore of the Piræus," and his declaring that he "already beheld war swooping down upon them from Peloponnesus." Once also when Sophocles, who was general with him on a certain naval expedition,[1] praised a lovely boy, he said: "It is not his hands only, Sophocles, that a general must keep clean, but his eyes as well." Again, Stesimbrotus says that, in his funeral oration over those who had fallen in the Samian War, he declared that they had become immortal, like the gods; "the gods themselves," he said, "we cannot see, but from the honours which they receive, and the blessings which they bestow, we conclude that they are immortal." So it was, he said, with those who had given their lives for their country.

IX. Thucydides describes[2] the administration of Pericles as rather aristocratic,—"in name a democracy, but in fact a government by the greatest citizen." But many others say that the people was first led on by him into allotments of public lands, festival-grants, and distributions of fees for public services, thereby falling into bad habits, and becoming luxurious and wanton under the influence of his public measures, instead of frugal and self-sufficing.

[1] Against Samos, 440–439 B.C.

[2] In the encomium on Pericles, ii. 65, 9.

φρονος καὶ αὐτουργοῦ, θεωρείσθω διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μεταβολῆς.

2 Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος δόξαν ἀντιταττόμενος ὑπεποιεῖτο τὸν δῆμον· ἐλαττούμενος δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς πένητας, δεῖπνόν τε καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ δεομένῳ παρέχων Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀμφιεννύων, τῶν τε χωρίων τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφαιρῶν ὅπως ὀπωρίζωσιν οἱ βουλόμενοι, τούτοις ὁ Περικλῆς καταδημαγωγούμενος τρέπεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν δημοσίων διανομήν, συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Ὄαθεν, 3 ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστόρηκε. καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικοῖς καὶ δικαστικοῖς λήμμασιν ἄλλαις τε μισθοφοραῖς καὶ χορηγίαις συνδεκάσας τὸ πλῆθος, ἐχρῆτο κατὰ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, ἧς αὐτὸς οὐ μετεῖχε διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἄρχων μήτε θεσμοθέτης μήτε βασιλεὺς μήτε πολέμαρχος λαχεῖν. αὗται γὰρ αἱ ἀρχαὶ κληρωταί τε ἦσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς Ἄρειον 4 πάγον. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχύσας ὁ Περικλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατεστασίασε τὴν βουλήν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὰς πλείστας κρίσεις δι' Ἐφιάλτου, Κίμωνα δ' ὡς φιλολάκωνα καὶ μισόδημον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει μηδενὸς ἀπολειπόμενον, νίκας δὲ καλλίστας νενικηκότα

Let us therefore examine in detail the reason for this change in him.[1]

In the beginning, as has been said, pitted as he was against the reputation of Cimon, he tried to ingratiate himself with the people. And since he was the inferior in wealth and property, by means of which Cimon would win over the poor,—furnishing a dinner every day to any Athenian who wanted it, bestowing raiment on the elderly men, and removing the fences from his estates that whosoever wished might pluck the fruit,—Pericles, outdone in popular arts of this sort, had recourse to the distribution of the people's own wealth. This was on the advice of Damonides, of the deme Oa, as Aristotle has stated.[2] And soon, what with festival-grants and jurors' wages and other fees and largesses, he bribed the multitude by the wholesale, and used them in opposition to the Council of the Areiopagus. Of this body he himself was not a member, since the lot had not made him either First Archon, or Archon Thesmothete, or King Archon, or Archon Polemarch. These offices were in ancient times filled by lot, and through them those who properly acquitted themselves were promoted into the Areiopagus. For this reason all the more did Pericles, strong in the affections of the people, lead a successful party against the Council of the Areiopagus. Not only was the Council robbed of most of its jurisdiction by Ephialtes, but Cimon also, on the charge of being a lover of Sparta and a hater of the people, was ostracized,[3]—a man who yielded to none in wealth

[1] The discussion of this change in Pericles from the methods of a demagogue to the leadership described by Thucydides, continues through chapter xv. [2] *Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 4.
[3] 461 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, xvii. 2.

τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ λαφύρων ἐμπεπληκότα τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται. Τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ κράτος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ Περικλέους.

X. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸς ὡρισμένην εἶχε νόμῳ δεκαετίαν τοῖς φεύγουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου Λακεδαιμονίων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τὴν Ἀναγρικὴν καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐθὺς ὁρμησάντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὁ μὲν Κίμων ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἔθετο μετὰ τῶν φυλετῶν εἰς λόχον τὰ ὅπλα καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀπολύεσθαι τὸν Λακωνισμὸν ἐβούλετο, συγκινδυνεύσας τοῖς πολίταις, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Περικλέους συστάντες ἀπήλασαν αὐτὸν
2 ὡς φυγάδα. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ Περικλῆς ἐρρωμενέστατα[1] τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ γενέσθαι πάντων ἐπιφανέστατος ἀφειδήσας τοῦ σώματος. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κίμωνος οἱ φίλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς, οὓς Περικλῆς συνεπῃτιᾶτο τοῦ Λακωνισμοῦ· καὶ μετάνοια δεινὴ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ πόθος ἔσχε τοῦ Κίμωνος, ἠττημένους μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, προσδοκῶντας δὲ βαρὺν
3 εἰς ἔτους ὥραν πόλεμον. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὐκ ὤκνησε χαρίσασθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας αὐτὸς ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα, κἀκεῖνος κατελθὼν[2] εἰρήνην ἐποίησε ταῖς πόλεσιν. οἰκείως γὰρ εἶχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἀπήχθοντο τῷ Περικλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημαγωγοῖς.

[1] ἐρρωμενέστατα Cobet, Sintenis[2], Fuhr, Blass; ἐρρωμενεστάτην Bekker, with the MSS.

[2] κατελθὼν Sintenis[2], Fuhr, Blass; ἀπελθὼν Bekker, with the MSS.

and lineage, who had won most glorious victories over the Barbarians, and had filled the city full of money and spoils, as is written in his Life. Such was the power of Pericles among the people.

X. Now ostracism involved legally a period of ten years' banishment. But in the meanwhile [1] the Lacedæmonians invaded the district of Tanagra with a great army, and the Athenians straightway sallied out against them. So Cimon came back from his banishment and stationed himself with his tribesmen in line of battle, and determined by his deeds to rid himself of the charge of too great love for Sparta, in that he shared the perils of his fellow-citizens. But the friends of Pericles banded together and drove him from the ranks, on the ground that he was under sentence of banishment. For which reason, it is thought, Pericles fought most sturdily in that battle, and was the most conspicuous of all in exposing himself to danger. And there fell in this battle all the friends of Cimon to a man, whom Pericles had accused with him of too great love for Sparta. Wherefore sore repentance fell upon the Athenians, and a longing desire for Cimon, defeated as they were on the confines of Attica, and expecting as they did a grievous war with the coming of spring. So then Pericles, perceiving this, hesitated not to gratify the desires of the multitude, but wrote with his own hand the decree which recalled the man. Whereupon Cimon came back from banishment and made peace [2] between the cities. For the Lacedæmonians were as kindly disposed towards him as they were full of hatred towards Pericles and the other popular leaders.

[1] 457 B.C. [2] 450 B.C.

4 Ἔνιοι δέ φασιν οὐ πρότερον γραφῆναι τῷ Κίμωνι τὴν κάθοδον ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους ἢ συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἀπορρήτους γενέσθαι δι' Ἐλπινίκης, τῆς Κίμωνος ἀδελφῆς, ὥστε Κίμωνα μὲν ἐκπλεῦσαι λαβόντα ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ τῶν ἔξω στρατηγεῖν, καταστρεφόμενον τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, Περικλεῖ δὲ τὴν ἐν ἄστει δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν.
5 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἡ Ἐλπινίκη τῷ Κίμωνι τὸν Περικλέα πραότερον παρασχεῖν, ὅτε τὴν θανατικὴν δίκην ἔφευγεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ εἷς τῶν κατηγόρων ὁ Περικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προβεβλημένος, ἐλθούσης δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς Ἐλπινίκης καὶ δεομένης μειδιάσας εἶπεν· "Ὦ Ἐλπινίκη, γραῦς εἶ, γραῦς εἶ, ὡς πράγματα τηλικαῦτα πράσσειν." οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἅπαξ ἀνέστη, τὴν προβολὴν ἀφοσιούμενος, καὶ τῶν κατηγόρων ἐλάχιστα τὸν Κίμωνα λυπήσας ἀπεχώρησε.
6 Πῶς ἂν οὖν τις Ἰδομενεῖ πιστεύσειε κατηγοροῦντι τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς τὸν δημαγωγὸν Ἐφιάλτην φίλον γενόμενον καὶ κοινωνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως δολοφονήσαντος διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν καὶ φθόνον τῆς δόξης; ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν συναγαγὼν ὥσπερ χολὴν τἀνδρὶ προσβέβληκε, πάντη μὲν ἴσως οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτῳ, φρόνημα δ' εὐγενὲς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐμφύεται πάθος ὠμὸν οὕτω καὶ θηριῶδες.
7 Ἐφιάλτην μὲν οὖν φοβερὸν ὄντα τοῖς ὀλιγαρχικοῖς 158
καὶ περὶ τὰς εὐθύνας καὶ διώξεις τῶν τὸν δῆμον ἀδικούντων ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιβουλεύσαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ δι' Ἀριστοδίκου τοῦ Ταναγρικοῦ κρυφαίως

Some, however, say that the decree for the restoration of Cimon was not drafted by Pericles until a secret compact had been made between them, through the agency of Elpinicé, Cimon's sister, to the effect that Cimon should sail out with a fleet of two hundred ships and have command in foreign parts, attempting to subdue the territory of the King, while Pericles should have supreme power in the city. And it was thought that before this, too, Elpinice had rendered Pericles more lenient towards Cimon, when he stood his trial on the capital charge of treason.[1] Pericles was at that time one of the committee of prosecution appointed by the people, and on Elpinice's coming to him and supplicating him, said to her with a smile: "Elpinice, thou art an old woman, thou art an old woman, to attempt such tasks." However, he made only one speech, by way of formally executing his commission, and in the end did the least harm to Cimon of all his accusers.

How, then, can one put trust in Idomeneus, who accuses Pericles of assassinating the popular leader Ephialtes, though he was his friend and a partner in his political program, out of mere jealousy and envy of his reputation? These charges he has raked up from some source or other and hurled them, as if so much venom, against one who was perhaps not in all points irreproachable, but who had a noble disposition and an ambitious spirit, wherein no such savage and bestial feelings can have their abode. As for Ephialtes, who was a terror to the oligarchs and inexorable in exacting accounts from those who wronged the people, and in prosecuting them, his enemies laid plots against him, and had him slain

[1] 463 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, xiv. 2–4.

ἀνεῖλον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης εἴρηκεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κίμων ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγῶν.

XI. Οἱ δ' ἀριστοκρατικοὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἤδη τὸν Περικλέα καὶ πρόσθεν ὁρῶντες γεγονότα τῶν πολιτῶν, βουλόμενοι δ' ὅμως εἶναί τινα τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτασσόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀμβλύνοντα, ὥστε μὴ κομιδῇ μοναρχίαν εἶναι, Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, ἄνδρα σώφρονα καὶ κηδεστὴν Κίμωνος, ἀντέστησαν ἐναντιωσόμενον, 2 ὃς ἧττον μὲν ὢν πολεμικὸς τοῦ Κίμωνος, ἀγοραῖος δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς μᾶλλον, οἰκουρῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα τῷ Περικλεῖ συμπλεκόμενος, ταχὺ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον κατέστησεν.

Οὐ γὰρ εἴασε τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἐνδιεσπάρθαι καὶ συμμεμῖχθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς πρότερον, ὑπὸ πλήθους ἠμαυρωμένους τὸ ἀξίωμα, χωρὶς δὲ διακρίνας καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ταὐτὸ τὴν πάντων δύναμιν ἐμβριθῆ 3 γενομένην ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ ῥοπὴν ἐποίησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διπλόη τις ὕπουλος, ὥσπερ ἐν σιδήρῳ, διαφορὰν ὑποσημαίνουσα δημοτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατικῆς προαιρέσεως, ἡ δ' ἐκείνων ἄμιλλα καὶ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἀνδρῶν βαθυτάτην τομὴν τεμοῦσα τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν δῆμον, τὸ δ' ὀλίγους 4 ἐποίησε καλεῖσθαι. διὸ καὶ τότε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡνίας ἀνεὶς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτεύετο πρὸς χάριν, ἀεί μέν τινα θέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἢ ἑστίασιν ἢ πομ-

secretly by Aristodicus of Tanagra, as Aristotle says.[1] As for Cimon, he died on his campaign in Cyprus.[2]

XI. Then the aristocrats, aware even some time before this that Pericles was already become the greatest citizen, but wishing nevertheless to have some one in the city who should stand up against him and blunt the edge of his power, that it might not be an out and out monarchy, put forward Thucydides of Alopecé, a discreet man and a relative of Cimon, to oppose him. He, being less of a warrior than Cimon, and more of a forensic speaker and statesman, by keeping watch and ward in the city, and by wrestling bouts with Pericles on the bema, soon bought the administration into even poise.

He would not suffer the party of the "Good and True," as they called themselves, to be scattered up and down and blended with the populace, as heretofore, the weight of their character being thus obscured by numbers, but by culling them out and assembling them into one body, he made their collective influence, thus become weighty, as it were a counterpoise in the balance. Now there had been from the beginning a sort of seam hidden beneath the surface of affairs, as in a piece of iron, which faintly indicated a divergence between the popular and the aristocratic programme; but the emulous ambition of these two men cut a deep gash in the state, and caused one section of it to be called the "Demos," or the *People,* and the other the "Oligoi," or the *Few.* At this time, therefore, particularly, Pericles gave the reins to the people, and made his policy one of pleasing them, ever devising some

[1] *Const. of Athens,* xxv. 4.
[2] 449 B.C. Cf. *Cimon,* xviii., xix.

πὴν εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ἄστει καὶ "διαπαιδαγωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσοις ἡδοναῖς" τὴν πόλιν, ἑξήκοντα δὲ τριήρεις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπέμπων, ἐν αἷς πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔπλεον ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἔμμισθοι, μελετῶντες ἅμα καὶ μανθάνοντες τὴν ναυτικὴν
5 ἐμπειρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίους μὲν ἔστειλεν εἰς Χερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξον πεντακοσίους, εἰς δὲ Ἄνδρον τοὺς ἡμίσεις[1] τούτων, εἰς δὲ Θρᾴκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας, ἄλλους δ' εἰς Ἰταλίαν οἰκιζομένης Συβάρεως, ἣν Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολὴν πολυπράγμονος ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβον δὲ καὶ φρουρὰν τοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζειν τι παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμμάχοις.

XII. Ὁ δὲ πλείστην μὲν ἡδονὴν ταῖς Ἀθήναις καὶ κόσμον ἤνεγκε, μεγίστην δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔκπληξιν ἀνθρώποις, μόνον δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μαρτυρεῖ μὴ ψεύδεσθαι τὴν λεγομένην δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ὄλβον, ἢ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατασκευή, τοῦτο μάλιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων τοῦ Περικλέους ἐβάσκαινον οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ διέβαλλον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, βοῶντες ὡς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀδοξεῖ καὶ κακῶς ἀκούει τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
2 χρήματα πρὸς αὑτὸν ἐκ Δήλου μεταγαγών, ἣ δ' ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν προφάσεων, δείσαντα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκεῖθεν

[1] τοὺς ἡμίσεις Fuhr and Blass, after Cobet: ἡμίσεις.

sort of a pageant in the town for the masses, or a feast, or a procession, "amusing them like children with not uncouth delights,"[1] and sending out sixty triremes annually, on which large numbers of the citizens sailed about for eight months under pay, practising at the same time and acquiring the art of seamanship. In addition to this, he despatched a thousand settlers to the Chersonesus,[2] and five hundred to Naxos, and to Andros half that number, and a thousand to Thrace to settle with the Bisaltae, and others to Italy, when the site of Sybaris was settled,[3] which they named Thurii. All this he did by way of lightening the city of its mob of lazy and idle busybodies, rectifying the embarrassments of the poorer people, and giving the allies for neighbours an imposing garrison which should prevent rebellion.

XII. But that which brought most delightful adornment to Athens, and the greatest amazement to the rest of mankind; that which alone now testifies for Hellas that her ancient power and splendour, of which so much is told, was no idle fiction,—I mean his construction of sacred edifices, —this, more than all the public measures of Pericles, his enemies maligned and slandered. They cried out in the assemblies: "The people has lost its fair fame and is in ill repute because it has removed the public moneys of the Hellenes from Delos into its own keeping, and that seemliest of all excuses which it had to urge against its accusers, to wit, that out of fear of the Barbarians it took the public funds

[1] An iambic trimeter from an unknown source.
[2] 447 B.C. Cf. chapter xix. 1–2.
[3] 444 B.C. Sybaris had been destroyed in 510 B.C.

ἀνελέσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν ὀχυρῷ τὰ κοινά, ταύτην ἀνῄρηκε Περικλῆς· καὶ δοκεῖ δεινὴν ὕβριν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεσθαι καὶ τυραννεῖσθαι περιφανῶς, ὁρῶσα τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμᾶς τὴν πόλιν καταχρυσοῦντας καὶ καλλωπίζοντας ὥσπερ ἀλαζόνα γυναῖκα, περιαπτομένην λίθους πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ναοὺς χιλιοταλάντους.

3 Ἐδίδασκεν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ὀφείλουσι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον προπολεμοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνείργοντες, οὐχ ἵππον, οὐ ναῦν, οὐχ ὁπλίτην, ἀλλὰ χρήματα μόνον τελούντων, ἃ τῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων, ἂν παρέχωσιν 4 ἀνθ' οὗ λαμβάνουσι· δεῖ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κατεσκευασμένης ἱκανῶς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς ταῦτα τὴν εὐπορίαν τρέπειν αὐτῆς ἀφ' ὧν δόξα μὲν γενομένων ἄϊδιος, εὐπορία δὲ γινομένων ἑτοίμη παρέσται, παντοδαπῆς ἐργασίας φανείσης καὶ ποικίλων χρειῶν, αἳ πᾶσαν μὲν τέχνην ἐγείρουσαι, πᾶσαν δὲ χεῖρα κινοῦσαι, σχεδὸν ὅλην ποιοῦσιν ἔμμισθον τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἅμα κοσμουμένην καὶ τρεφομένην.

5 Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡλικίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ῥώμην αἱ στρατεῖαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν εὐπορίας παρεῖχον, τὸν δ' ἀσύντακτον καὶ βάναυσον ὄχλον οὔτ' ἄμοιρον εἶναι λημμάτων βουλόμενος οὔτε λαμβάνειν ἀργὸν καὶ σχολάζοντα, μεγάλας κατασκευ-

from that sacred isle and was now guarding them in a stronghold, of this Pericles has robbed it. And surely Hellas is insulted with a dire insult and manifestly subjected to tyranny when she sees that, with her own enforced contributions for the war, we are gilding and bedizening our city, which, for all the world like a wanton woman, adds to her wardrobe precious stones and costly statues and temples worth their millions."

For his part, Pericles would instruct the people that it owed no account of their moneys to the allies provided it carried on the war for them and kept off the Barbarians; "not a horse do they furnish," said he, "not a ship, not a hoplite, but money simply; and this belongs, not to those who give it, but to those who take it, if only they furnish that for which they take it in pay. And it is but meet that the city, when once she is sufficiently equipped with all that is necessary for prosecuting the war, should apply her abundance to such works as, by their completion, will bring her everlasting glory, and while in process of completion will bring that abundance into actual service, in that all sorts of activity and diversified demands arise, which rouse every art and stir every hand, and bring, as it were, the whole city under pay, so that she not only adorns, but supports herself as well from her own resources."

And it was true that his military expeditions supplied those who were in the full vigour of manhood with abundant resources from the common funds, and in his desire that the unwarlike throng of common labourers should neither have no share at all in the public receipts, nor yet get fees for

ασμάτων ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πολυτέχνους ὑποθέσεις ἔργων διατριβὴν ἐχόντων ἐνέβαλε φέρων εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἧττον τῶν πλεόντων καὶ φρουρούντων καὶ στρατευομένων τὸ οἰκουροῦν ἔχῃ πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ
6 μεταλαμβάνειν. ὅπου γὰρ ὕλη μὲν ἦν λίθος, χαλκός, ἐλέφας, χρυσός, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ δὲ ταύτην ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κατεργαζόμεναι τέχναι, τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, λιθουργοί, βαφεῖς, χρυσοῦ μαλακτῆρες καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ζωγράφοι, ποικιλταί, τορευταί, πομποὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ κομιστῆρες, ἔμποροι καὶ ναῦται καὶ κυβερνῆται
7 κατὰ θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἁμαξοπήγοι καὶ ζευγοτρόφοι καὶ ἡνίοχοι καὶ καλωστρόφοι καὶ λινουργοὶ καὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ μεταλλεῖς, ἑκάστη δὲ τέχνη, καθάπερ στρατηγὸς ἴδιον στράτευμα, τὸν θητικὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἰδιώτην συντεταγμένον εἶχεν, ὄργανον καὶ σῶμα τῆς ὑπηρεσίας γινόμενον, εἰς πᾶσαν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἡλικίαν καὶ φύσιν αἱ χρεῖαι διένεμον καὶ διέσπειρον τὴν εὐπορίαν.

XIII. Ἀναβαινόντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερηφάνων μὲν μεγέθει, μορφῇ δ' ἀμιμήτων καὶ χάριτι, τῶν δημιουργῶν ἁμιλλωμένων ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν δημιουργίαν τῇ καλλιτεχνίᾳ, μάλιστα θαυμάσιον ἦν τὸ τάχος. ὧν γὰρ ἕκαστον ᾤοντο πολλαῖς διαδοχαῖς καὶ ἡλικίαις μόλις ἐπὶ τέλος ἀφίξεσθαι, ταῦτα πάντα μιᾶς ἀκμῆ πολιτείας

laziness and idleness, he boldly suggested to the people projects for great constructions, and designs for works which would call many arts into play and involve long periods of time, in order that the stay-at-homes, no whit less than the sailors and sentinels and soldiers, might have a pretext for getting a beneficial share of the public wealth. The materials to be used were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress-wood; the arts which should elaborate and work up these materials were those of carpenter, moulder, bronze-smith, stone-cutter, dyer, worker in gold and ivory, painter, embroiderer, embosser, to say nothing of the forwarders and furnishers of the material, such as factors, sailors and pilots by sea, and, by land, wagon-makers, trainers of yoked beasts, and drivers. There were also rope-makers, weavers, leather-workers, road-builders, and miners. And since each particular art, like a general with the army under his separate command, kept its own throng of unskilled and untrained labourers in compact array, to be as instrument unto player and as body unto soul in subordinate service, it came to pass that for every age, almost, and every capacity the city's great abundance was distributed and scattered abroad by such demands.

XIII. So then the works arose, no less towering in their grandeur than inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the workmen eagerly strove to surpass themselves in the beauty of their handicraft. And yet the most wonderful thing about them was the speed with which they rose. Each one of them, men thought, would require many successive generations to complete it, but all of them were

2 ἐλάμβανε τὴν συντέλειαν. καίτοι ποτέ φασιν Ἀγαθάρχου τοῦ ζωγράφου μέγα φρονοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ ταχὺ καὶ ῥᾳδίως τὰ ζῷα ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ζεῦξιν εἰπεῖν· "Ἐγὼ δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ." ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὐχέρεια καὶ ταχύτης οὐκ ἐντίθησι βάρος ἔργῳ μόνιμον οὐδὲ κάλλους ἀκρίβειαν· ὁ δ' εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τῷ πόνῳ προδανεισθεὶς χρόνος ἐν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γενομένου τὴν ἰσχὺν
3 ἀποδίδωσιν. ὅθεν καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενόμενα. κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον εὐθὺς ἦν τότε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατόν ἐστι καὶ νεουργόν· οὕτως ἐπανθεῖ καινότης ἀεί τις[1] ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διατηροῦσα τὴν ὄψιν, ὥσπερ ἀειθαλὲς πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγήρω κατα-
4 μεμιγμένην τῶν ἔργων ἐχόντων. Πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἑκατόμπεδον Παρθενῶνα Καλλικράτης εἰργάζετο καὶ Ἰκτῖνος, τὸ δ' ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τελεστήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐδάφους κίονας ἔθηκεν οὗτος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις ἐπέζευξεν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου Μεταγένης ὁ Ξυπέτιος τὸ διάζωμα καὶ τοὺς ἄνω κίονας
5 ἐπέστησε· τὸ δ' ὄπαιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε· τὸ δὲ μακρὸν 160

[1] καινότης ἀεί τις Fuhr and Blass with F[a]S : καινότης τις.

fully completed in the heyday of a single administration. And yet they say that once on a time when Agatharchus the painter was boasting loudly of the speed and ease with which he made his figures, Zeuxis heard him, and said, "Mine take, and last, a long time." And it is true that deftness and speed in working do not impart to the work an abiding weight of influence nor an exactness of beauty; whereas the time which is put out to loan in laboriously creating, pays a large and generous interest in the preservation of the creation. For this reason are the works of Pericles all the more to be wondered at; they were created in a short time for all time. Each one of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once antique; but in the freshness of its vigour it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought. Such is the bloom of perpetual newness, as it were, upon these works of his, which makes them ever to look untouched by time, as though the unfaltering breath of an ageless spirit had been infused into them.

His general manager and general overseer was Pheidias, although the several works had great architects and artists besides. Of the Parthenon, for instance, with its cella of a hundred feet in length, Callicrates and Ictinus were the architects; it was Coroebus who began to build the sanctuary of the mysteries at Eleusis, and he planted the columns on the floor and yoked their capitals together with architraves; but on his death Metagenes, of the deme Xypete, carried up the frieze and the upper tier of columns; while Xenocles, of the deme Cholargus, set on high the lantern over the shrine.

τεῖχος, περὶ οὗ Σωκράτης ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸς εἰσηγουμένου γνώμην Περικλέους, ἠργολάβησε Καλλικράτης. κωμῳδεῖ δὲ τὸ ἔργον Κρατῖνος ὡς βραδέως περαινόμενον·

Πάλαι γὰρ αὐτό, φησί,
λόγοισι προάγει Περικλέης, ἔργοισι δ' οὐδὲ κινεῖ.

Τὸ δ' Ὠιδεῖον, τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον, τῇ δ' ἐρέψει περικλινὲς καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατοῦντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέους. 6 διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θρᾴτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν·

Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε
προσέρχεται[1] τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοὔστρακον παροίχεται.

φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἄγεσθαι, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἱρεθεὶς καθότι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ᾄδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. ἐθεῶντο δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν Ὠιδείῳ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ἀγῶνας.

7 Τὰ δὲ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐξειργάσθη μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ Μνησικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντος· τύχη δὲ θαυμαστὴ συμβᾶσα περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμήνυσε τὴν θεὸν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ

[1] ὅδε | προσέρχεται Fuhr and Blass, after Cobet: προσέρχεται | Περικλέης.

For the long wall, concerning which Socrates says [1] he himself heard Pericles introduce a measure, Callicrates was the contractor. Cratinus pokes fun at this work for its slow progress, and in these words :—

"Since ever so long now
In word has Pericles pushed the thing; in fact he
does not budge it." [2]

The Odeum, which was arranged internally with many tiers of seats and many pillars, and which had a roof made with a circular slope from a single peak, they say was an exact reproduction of the Great King's pavilion, and this too was built under the superintendence of Pericles. Wherefore Cratinus, in his "Thracian Women," rails at him again :—

"The squill-head Zeus! lo! here he comes,
The Odeum like a cap upon his cranium,
Now that for good and all the ostracism is o'er." [3]

Then first did Pericles, so fond of honour was he, get a decree passed that a musical contest be held as part of the Panathenaic festival. He himself was elected manager, and prescribed how the contestants must blow the flute, or sing, or pluck the zither. These musical contests were witnessed, both then and thereafter, in the Odeum.

The Propylaea of the acropolis were brought to completion in the space of five years, Mnesicles being their architect. A wonderful thing happened in the course of their building, which indicated that the goddess was not holding herself aloof, but was a

[1] Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 455 e.

[2] From a play of unknown name. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 100.

[3] Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 35.

συνεφαπτομένην τοῦ ἔργου καὶ συνεπιτελοῦσαν.
8 ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεὶς ἐξ ὕψους ἔπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἀθυμοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὄναρ φανεῖσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἣ χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἰάσατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ὑγιείας Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ὃς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν.

9 Ὁ δὲ Φειδίας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος, καὶ τούτου δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέγραπται,[1] πάντα δ' ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάτει τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ μὲν φθόνον, τῷ δὲ βλασφημίαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἐλευθέρας τῷ Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ ἔργα φοιτώσας ὑπο-
10 δεχομένου τοῦ Φειδίου. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν λόγον οἱ κωμικοὶ πολλὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἴς τε τὴν Μενίππου γυναῖκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ ὑποστρατηγοῦντος, εἴς τε τὰς Πυριλάμπους ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἑταῖρος ὢν Περικλέους αἰτίαν εἶχε ταῶνας ὑφιέναι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἷς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίαζε.

11 Καί τί ἄν τις ἀνθρώπους σατυρικοὺς τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων βλασφημίας ὥσπερ δαίμονι κακῷ τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποθύοντας ἑκάστοτε θαυμάσειεν, ὅπου καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ

[1] ἀναγέγραπται Cobet : εἶναι γέγραπται.

helper both in the inception and in the completion of the work. One of its artificers, the most active and zealous of them all, lost his footing and fell from a great height, and lay in a sorry plight, despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was much cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed the man. It was in commemoration of this that he set up the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia on the acropolis near the altar of that goddess, which was there before, as they say.

But it was Pheidias who produced the great golden image of the goddess, and he is duly inscribed on the tablet as the workman who made it. Everything, almost, was under his charge, and all the artists and artisans, as I have said, were under his superintendence, owing to his friendship with Pericles. This brought envy upon the one, and contumely on the other, to the effect that Pheidias made assignations for Pericles with free-born women who would come ostensibly to see the works of art. The comic poets took up this story and bespattered Pericles with charges of abounding wantonness, connecting their slanders with the wife of Menippus, a man who was his friend, and a colleague in the generalship, and with the bird-culture of Pyrilampes, who, since he was the comrade of Pericles, was accused of using his peacocks to bribe the women with whom Pericles consorted.

And why should any one be astonished that men of wanton life lose no occasion for offering up sacrifices, as it were, of contumelious abuse of their superiors, to the evil deity of popular envy, when

Θάσιος δεινὸν ἀσέβημα καὶ μυθῶδες ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησεν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ υἱοῦ κατὰ τοῦ
12 Περικλέους; οὕτως ἔοικε πάντη χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ δυσθήρατον ἱστορίᾳ τἀληθές, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ὕστερον γεγονότες τὸν χρόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπιπροσθοῦντα τῇ γνώσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν βίων ἡλικιῶτις ἱστορία τὰ μὲν φθόνοις καὶ δυσμενείαις, τὰ δὲ χαριζομένη καὶ κολακεύουσα λυμαίνηται καὶ διαστρέφῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

XIV. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ῥητόρων καταβοώντων τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς σπαθῶντος τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἀπολλύντος, ἠρώτησεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν δῆμον εἰ πολλὰ δοκεῖ δεδαπανῆσθαι· φησάντων δὲ πάμπολλα· "Μὴ τοίνυν," εἶπεν, "ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δεδαπανήσθω, καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἰδίαν ἐμαυτοῦ ποιήσομαι
2 τὴν ἐπιγραφήν." εἰπόντος οὖν ταῦτα τοῦ Περικλέους, εἴτε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαντες εἴτε πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενοι 16
τῶν ἔργων, ἀνέκραγον κελεύοντες ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἀναλίσκειν καὶ χορηγεῖν μηδενὸς φειδόμενον. τέλος δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θουκυδίδην εἰς ἀγῶνα περὶ τοῦ ὀστράκου καταστὰς καὶ διακινδυνεύσας ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξέβαλε, κατέλυσε δὲ τὴν ἀντιτεταγμένην ἑταιρείαν.

XV. Ὡς οὖν παντάπασι λυθείσης τῆς διαφορᾶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως οἷον ὁμαλῆς καὶ μιᾶς γενομένης κομιδῇ, περιήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰς Ἀθήνας

even Stesimbrotus of Thasos has ventured to make public charge against Pericles of a dreadful and fabulous impiety with his son's wife? To such degree, it seems, is truth hedged about with difficulty and hard to capture by research, since those who come after the events in question find that lapse of time is an obstacle to their proper perception of them; while the research of their contemporaries into men's deeds and lives, partly through envious hatred and partly through fawning flattery, defiles and distorts the truth.

XIV. Thucydides and his party kept denouncing Pericles for playing fast and loose with the public moneys and annihilating the revenues. Pericles therefore asked the people in assembly whether they thought he had expended too much, and on their declaring that it was altogether too much, "Well then," said he, "let it not have been spent on your account, but mine, and I will make the inscriptions of dedication in my own name." When Pericles had said this, whether it was that they admired his magnanimity or vied with his ambition to get the glory of his works, they cried out with a loud voice and bade him take freely from the public funds for his outlays, and to spare naught whatsoever. And finally he ventured to undergo with Thucydides the contest of the ostracism, wherein he secured his rival's banishment,[1] and the dissolution of the faction which had been arrayed against him.

XV. Thus, then, seeing that political differences were entirely remitted and the city had become a smooth surface, as it were, and altogether united, he brought under his own control Athens and all the

[1] 442 B.C.

καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξηρτημένα πράγματα, φόρους καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ νήσους καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν δι' Ἑλλήνων, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ βαρβάρων ἤκουσαν ἰσχύν, καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ὑπηκοοις ἔθνεσι καὶ φιλίαις βασιλέων
2 καὶ συμμαχίαις πεφραγμένην δυναστῶν, οὐκέθ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐδ' ὁμοίως χειροήθης τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ῥᾴδιος ὑπείκειν καὶ συνενδιδόναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὥσπερ πνοαῖς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ ἐκ τῆς ἀνειμένης ἐκείνης καὶ ὑποθρυπτομένης ἔνια δημαγωγίας, ὥσπερ ἀνθηρᾶς καὶ μαλακῆς ἁρμονίας, ἀριστοκρατικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐντεινάμενος πολιτείαν, καὶ χρώμενος αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ὀρθῇ καὶ
3 ἀνεγκλίτῳ, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ βουλόμενον ἦγε πείθων καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δῆμον, ἦν δ' ὅτε καὶ μάλα δυσχεραίνοντα κατατείνων καὶ προσβιβάζων ἐχειροῦτο τῷ συμφέροντι, μιμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς ἰατρὸν ποικίλῳ νοσήματι καὶ μακρῷ κατὰ καιρὸν μὲν ἡδονὰς ἀβλαβεῖς, κατὰ καιρὸν δὲ δηγμοὺς καὶ
4 φάρμακα προσφέροντα σωτήρια. παντοδαπῶν γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, παθῶν ἐν ὄχλῳ τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι φυομένων, μόνος ἐμμελῶς ἕκαστα διαχειρίσασθαι πεφυκώς, μάλιστα δ' ἐλπίσι καὶ φόβοις ὥσπερ οἰαξι προσστέλλων [1] τὸ θρασυνόμενον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δύσθυμον ἀνιεὶς καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ἔδειξε τὴν ῥητορικὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα ψυχαγωγίαν οὖσαν καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον

[1] προσστέλλων Fuhr and Blass with S (προστέλλων BCF^{a}) : προαναστέλλων.

issues dependent on the Athenians,—tributes, armies, triremes, the islands, the sea, the vast power derived from Hellenes, vast also from Barbarians, and a supremacy that was securely hedged about with subject nations, royal friendships, and dynastic alliances. But then he was no longer the same man as before, nor alike submissive to the people and ready to yield and give in to the desires of the multitude as a steersman to the breezes. Nay rather, forsaking his former lax and sometimes rather effeminate management of the people, as it were a flowery and soft melody, he struck the high and clear note of an aristocratic and kingly statesmanship, and employing it for the best interests of all in a direct and undeviating fashion, he led the people, for the most part willingly, by his persuasions and instructions. And yet there were times when they were sorely vexed with him, and then he tightened the reins and forced them into the way of their advantage with a master's hand, for all the world like a wise physician, who treats a complicated disease of long standing occasionally with harmless indulgences to please his patient, and occasionally, too, with caustics and bitter drugs which work salvation. For whereas all sorts of distempers, as was to be expected, were rife in a rabble which possessed such vast empire, he alone was so endowed by nature that he could manage each one of these cases suitably, and more than anything else he used the people's hopes and fears, like rudders, so to speak, giving timely check to their arrogance, and allaying and comforting their despair. Thus he proved that rhetoric, or the art of speaking, is, to use Plato's words,[1] "an enchantment

[1] *Phaedrus*, p 271 c.

αὐτῆς τὴν περὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ πάθη μέθοδον, ὥσπερ τινὰς τόνους καὶ φθόγγους ψυχῆς μάλ' ἐμμελοῦς ἁφῆς καὶ κρούσεως δεομένους. αἰτία δ' οὐχ ἡ τοῦ λόγου ψιλῶς δύναμις, ἀλλ', ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον δόξα καὶ πίστις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀδωροτάτου περιφανῶς γενομένου καὶ χρημάτων κρείττονος· ὃς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλης μεγίστην καὶ πλουσιωτάτην ποιήσας, καὶ γενόμενος δυνάμει[1] πολλῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων ὑπέρτερος, ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ ἐπίτροπον τοῖς υἱέσι διέθεντο ἐκεῖνον,[2] μιᾷ δραχμῇ μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἧς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε.

XVI. Καίτοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης διηγεῖται, κακοήθως δὲ παρεμφαίνουσιν οἱ κωμικοί, Πεισιστρατίδας μὲν νέους τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταίρους καλοῦντες, αὐτὸν δ' ἀπομόσαι μὴ τυραννήσειν κελεύοντες, ὡς ἀσυμμέτρου πρὸς δημοκρατίαν καὶ βαρυτέρας περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης ὑπεροχῆς. ὁ δὲ Τηλεκλείδης παραδεδωκέναι φησὶν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους

> Πόλεών τε φόρους αὐτάς τε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν δεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀναλύειν,
> λάϊνα τείχη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν, τὰ δ' ἔπειτα[3] πάλιν καταβάλλειν,
> σπονδάς, δύναμιν, κράτος, εἰρήνην, πλοῦτόν τ' εὐδαιμονίαν τε.

καὶ ταῦτα καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν οὐδ' ἀκμὴ καὶ χάρις

[1] δυνάμει also Fuhr and Blass with S; Bekker has καὶ δυνάμει.

[2] ἐπίτροπον . . . . ἐκεῖνον Madvig's restoration, adopted by Fuhr and Blass: ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱέσι διέθεντο, ἐκεῖνος (*willed their property to their sons*).

[3] τὰ δ' ἔπειτα Fuhr: τὰ δὲ αὐτά.

of the soul," and that her chiefest business is a careful study of the affections and passions, which are, so to speak, strings and stops of the soul, requiring a very judicious fingering and striking. The reason for his success was not his power as a speaker merely, but, as Thucydides says,[1] the reputation of his life and the confidence reposed in him as one who was manifestly proven to be utterly disinterested and superior to bribes. He made the city, great as it was when he took it, the greatest and richest of all cities, and grew to be superior in power to kings and tyrants. Some of these actually appointed him guardian of their sons, but he did not make his estate a single drachma greater than it was when his father left it to him.

XVI. Of his power there can be no doubt, since Thucydides gives so clear an exposition of it, and the comic poets unwittingly reveal it even in their malicious gibes, calling him and his associates "new Peisistratidae," and urging him to take solemn oath not to make himself a tyrant, on the plea, forsooth, that his preëminence was incommensurate with a democracy and too oppressive. Telecleides says[2] that the Athenians had handed over to him

"With the cities' assessments the cities themselves,
to bind or release as he pleases,
Their ramparts of stone to build up if he likes, and
then to pull down again straightway,
Their treaties, their forces, their might, peace, and
riches, and all the fair gifts of good fortune."
(Rogers.)

And this was not the fruit of a golden moment, nor

[1] ii. 65, 8.
[2] In a play of unknown name. Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 220.

ἀνθούσης ἐφ' ὥρᾳ πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἔτη πρωτεύων ἐν Ἐφιάλταις καὶ Λεωκράταις καὶ Μυρωνίδαις καὶ Κίμωσι καὶ Τολμίδαις καὶ
3 Θουκυδίδαις, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θουκυδίδου κατάλυσιν καὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν διηνεκῆ καὶ μίαν οὖσαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις στρατηγίαις ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν κτησάμενος, ἐφύλαξεν ἑαυτὸν ἀνάλωτον ὑπὸ χρημάτων, καί- 162
περ οὐ παντάπασιν ἀργῶς ἔχων πρὸς χρηματισμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πατρῷον καὶ δίκαιον πλοῦτον, ὡς μήτ' ἀμελούμενος ἐκφύγοι μήτε πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ διατριβὰς ἀσχολουμένῳ παρέχοι, συνέταξεν εἰς οἰκονομίαν ἣν ᾤετο ῥᾴστην καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην
4 εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπετείους καρποὺς ἅπαντας ἀθρόους ἐπίπρασκεν, εἶτα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἕκαστον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ὠνούμενος διῴκει τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἡδὺς ἦν ἐνηλίκοις παισὶν οὐδὲ γυναιξὶ δαψιλὴς χορηγός, ἀλλ' ἐμέμφοντο τὴν ἐφήμερον ταύτην καὶ συνηγμένην εἰς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον δαπάνην, οὐδενός, οἷον ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ πράγμασιν ἀφθόνοις, περιρρέοντος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς μὲν ἀναλώματος, παντὸς δὲ λήμ-
5 ματος δι' ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μέτρου βαδίζοντος. ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην συνέχων ἀκρίβειαν εἷς ἦν οἰκέτης, Εὐάγγελος, ὡς ἕτερος οὐδεὶς εὖ πεφυκὼς ἢ κατεσκευασμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους πρὸς οἰκονομίαν.

Ἀπάδοντα[1] μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου σοφίας, εἴγε καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκεῖνος ἐξέλιπε καὶ

[1] Ἀπάδοντα Valckenaer's restoration of the MS. ἅπαντα; Bekker changes to ἀπᾴδει.

the culminating popularity of an administration that bloomed but for a season; nay rather he stood first for forty years[1] among such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides, and after the deposition of Thucydides and his ostracism, for no less than fifteen of these years did he secure an imperial sway that was continuous and unbroken, by means of his annual tenure of the office of general. During all these years he kept himself untainted by corruption, although he was not altogether indifferent to money-making; indeed, the wealth which was legally his by inheritance from his father, that it might not from sheer neglect take to itself wings and fly away, nor yet cause him much trouble and loss of time when he was busy with higher things, he set into such orderly dispensation as he thought was easiest and most exact. This was to sell his annual products all together in the lump, and then to buy in the market each article as it was needed, and so provide the ways and means of daily life. For this reason he was not liked by his sons when they grew up, nor did their wives find in him a liberal purveyor, but they murmured at his expenditure for the day merely and under the most exact restrictions, there being no surplus of supplies at all, as in a great house and under generous circumstances, but every outlay and every intake proceeding by count and measure. His agent in securing all this great exactitude was a single servant, Evangelus, who was either gifted by nature or trained by Pericles so as to surpass everybody else in domestic economy.

It is true that this conduct was not in accord with the wisdom of Anaxagoras, since that philosopher

[1] Reckoning roundly from 469 to 429 B.C.

τὴν χώραν ἀφῆκεν ἀργὴν καὶ μηλόβοτον ὑπ'
6 ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, οὐ ταὐτὸν
δ' ἐστίν, οἶμαι, θεωρητικοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ πολι-
τικοῦ βίος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνόργανον καὶ ἀπροσδεῆ
τῆς ἐκτὸς ὕλης ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κινεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν,
τῷ δ' εἰς ἀνθρωπείας χρείας ἀναμιγνύντι τὴν
ἀρετὴν ἔστιν οὗ γένοιτ' ἂν οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καλῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, ὥσπερ
ἦν καὶ Περικλεῖ βοηθοῦντι πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων.
7 καὶ μέντοι γε τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν
ἀσχολουμένου Περικλέους ἀμελούμενον κεῖσθαι
συγκεκαλυμμένον ἤδη γηραιὸν ἀποκαρτεροῦντα·
προσπεσόντος δὲ τῷ Περικλεῖ τοῦ πράγματος
ἐκπλαγέντα θεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δεῖσθαι
πᾶσαν δέησιν, ὀλοφυρόμενον οὐκ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ'
ἑαυτόν, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἀπολεῖ τῆς πολιτείας σύμ-
βουλον. ἐκκαλυψάμενον οὖν τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν
εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ὦ Περίκλεις, καὶ οἱ τοῦ
λύχνου χρείαν ἔχοντες ἔλαιον ἐπιχέουσιν."

XVII. Ἀρχομένων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄχθεσθαι
τῇ αὐξήσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαίρων ὁ Περικλῆς
τὸν δῆμον ἔτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων
αὑτὸν ἀξιοῦν πραγμάτων, γράφει ψήφισμα, πάν-
τας Ἕλληνας τοὺς ὁπῄποτε κατοικοῦντας Εὐρώ-
πης ἢ τῆς Ἀσίας παρακαλεῖν, καὶ μικρὰν πόλιν
καὶ μεγάλην, εἰς σύλλογον πέμπειν Ἀθήναζε
τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν,

actually abandoned his house and left his land to lie fallow for sheep grazing, owing to the lofty thoughts with which he was inspired. But the life of a speculative philosopher is not the same thing, I think, as that of a statesman. The one exercises his intellect without the aid of instruments and independent of external matters for noble ends; whereas the other, inasmuch as he brings his superior excellence into close contact with the common needs of mankind, must sometimes find wealth not merely one of the necessities of life, but also one of its noble things, as was actually the case with Pericles, who gave aid to many poor men. And, besides, they say that Anaxagoras himself, at a time when Pericles was absorbed in business, lay on his couch all neglected, in his old age, starving himself to death, his head already muffled for departure, and that when the matter came to the ears of Pericles, he was struck with dismay, and ran at once to the poor man, and besought him most fervently to live, bewailing not so much that great teacher's lot as his own, were he now to be bereft of such a counsellor in the conduct of the state. Then Anaxagoras—so the story goes—unmuffled his head and said to him, "Pericles, even those who need a lamp pour oil therein."

XVII. When the Lacedaemonians began to be annoyed by the increasing power of the Athenians, Pericles, by way of inciting the people to cherish yet loftier thoughts and to deem itself worthy of great achievements, introduced a bill to the effect that all Hellenes wheresoever resident in Europe or in Asia, small and large cities alike, should be invited to send deputies to a council at Athens. This was to deliberate concerning the Hellenic sanctuaries which

ἃ κατέπρησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἃς ὀφείλουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἀδεῶς καὶ
2 τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγωσιν. ἐπὶ ταῦτα δ' ἄνδρες εἴκοσι τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων ἐπέμφθησαν, ὧν πέντε μὲν Ἴωνας καὶ Δωριεῖς τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ νησιώτας ἄχρι Λέσβου καὶ Ῥόδου παρεκάλουν, πέντε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ Θράκῃ μέχρι Βυζαντίου τόπους ἐπῆσαν, καὶ πέντε ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς Βοιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Λοκρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσοικον ἤπειρον ἕως Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ Ἀμβρακίας
3 ἀπεστάλησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δι' Εὐβοίας ἐπ' Οἰταίους καὶ τὸν Μαλιέα κόλπον καὶ Φθιώτας Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, συμπείθοντες ἰέναι καὶ μετέχειν τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπ' εἰρήνῃ καὶ κοινοπραγίᾳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ συνῆλθον αἱ πόλεις, Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπεναντιωθέντων, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τῆς πείρας ἐλεγχθείσης. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην.

XVIII. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις εὐδοκίμει 163
μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, οὔτε μάχης ἐχούσης πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ κίνδυνον ἑκουσίως ἁπτόμενος, οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραβάλλεσθαι χρησαμένους τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ καὶ θαυμασθέντας ὡς μεγάλους ζηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος στρατηγούς, ἀεί τε λέγων πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ὡς ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ μενοῦσιν ἀθάνατοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον.

the Barbarians had burned down, concerning the sacrifices which were due to the gods in the name of Hellas in fulfilment of vows made when they were fighting with the Barbarians, and concerning the sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the peace. To extend this invitation, twenty men, of such as were above fifty years of age, were sent out, five of whom invited the Ionians and Dorians in Asia and on the islands between Lesbos and Rhodes; five visited the regions on the Hellespont and in Thrace as far as Byzantium; five others were sent into Boeotia and Phocis and Peloponnesus, and from here by way of the Ozolian Locrians into the neighbouring continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia; while the rest proceeded through Euboea to the Oetaeans and the Maliac Gulf and the Phthiotic Achaeans and the Thessalians, urging them all to come and take part in the deliberations for the peace and common welfare of Hellas. But nothing was accomplished, nor did the cities come together by deputy, owing to the opposition of the Lacedaemonians, as it is said, since the effort met with its first check in Peloponnesus. I have cited this incident, however, to show forth the man's disposition and the greatness of his thoughts.

XVIII. In his capacity as general, he was famous above all things for his saving caution; he neither undertook of his own accord a battle involving much uncertainty and peril, nor did he envy and imitate those who took great risks, enjoyed brilliant good-fortune, and so were admired as great generals; and he was for ever saying to his fellow-citizens that, so far as lay in his power, they would remain alive forever and be immortals.

2 Ὁρῶν δὲ Τολμίδην τὸν Τολμαίου διὰ τὰς πρότερον εὐτυχίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν σὺν οὐδενὶ καιρῷ παρασκευαζόμενον εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ πεπεικότα τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἐθελοντὶ στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίους γενομένους ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως, κατέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἰπών, ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο Περικλεῖ, τόν γε σοφώτατον οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται σύμβουλον
3 ἀναμείνας χρόνον. τότε μὲν οὖν μετρίως εὐδοκίμησε τοῦτ' εἰπών· ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις, ὡς ἀνηγγέλθη τεθνεὼς μὲν αὐτὸς Τολμίδης περὶ Κορώνειαν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ, τεθνεῶτες δὲ πολλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, μεγάλην τοῦτο τῷ Περικλεῖ μετ' εὐνοίας δόξαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ.

XIX. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγιῶν ἠγαπήθη μὲν ἡ περὶ Χερρόνησον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, σωτήριος γενομένη τοῖς αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐποίκους Ἀθηναίων χιλίους κομίσας ἔρρωσεν εὐανδρίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα διαζώσας ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν
2 Θρᾳκῶν περικεχυμένων τῇ Χερρονήσῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἐνδελεχῆ καὶ βαρὺν ἐξέκλεισεν, ᾧ συνείχετο πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡ χώρα βαρβαρικαῖς ἀναμεμιγμένη γειτνιάσεσι καὶ γέμουσα λῃστηρίων

So when he saw that Tolmides, son of Tolmaeus, all on account of his previous good-fortune and of the exceeding great honour bestowed upon him for his wars, was getting ready, quite inopportunely, to make an incursion into Boeotia, and that he had persuaded the bravest and most ambitious men of military age to volunteer for the campaign,—as many as a thousand of them, aside from the rest of his forces,—he tried to restrain and dissuade him in the popular assembly, uttering then that well remembered saying, to wit, that if he would not listen to Pericles, he would yet do full well to wait for that wisest of all counsellors, Time. This saying brought him only moderate repute at the time; but a few days afterwards, when word was brought that Tolmides himself was dead after defeat in battle near Coroneia,[1] and that many brave citizens were dead likewise, then it brought Pericles great repute as well as goodwill, for that he was a man of discretion and patriotism.

XIX. Of all his expeditions, that to the Chersonesus[2] was held in most loving remembrance, since it proved the salvation of the Hellenes who dwelt there. Not only did he bring thither a thousand Athenian colonists and stock the cities anew with vigorous manhood, but he also belted the neck of the isthmus with defensive bulwarks from sea to sea, and so intercepted the incursions of the Thracians who swarmed about the Chersonesus, and shut out the perpetual and grievous war in which the country was all the time involved, in close touch as it was with neighbouring communities of Barbarians, and full to overflowing of robber bands whose haunts were on or

[1] 447 B.C. [2] 447 B.C.

ὁμόρων καὶ συνοίκων· ἐθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διεβοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπους περιπλεύσας Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Πηγῶν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνα-
3 χθεὶς ἑκατὸν τριήρεσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπόρθησε τῆς παραλίας πολλήν, ὡς Τολμίδης πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω θαλάττης προελθὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὁπλίταις τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰ τείχη συνέστειλε δείσαντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐν δὲ Νεμέᾳ Σικυωνίους ὑποστάντας καὶ συνάψαντας μάχην κατὰ κράτος τρεψάμενος ἔστησε τρόπαιον.
4 ἐκ δ' Ἀχαΐας φίλης οὔσης στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον ἐκομίσθη τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχελῷον Ἀκαρνανίαν κατέδραμε, καὶ κατέκλεισεν Οἰνιάδας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τεμὼν τὴν γῆν καὶ κακώσας ἀπῆρεν ἐπ' οἴκου, φοβερὸς μὲν φανεὶς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀσφαλὴς δὲ καὶ δραστήριος τοῖς πολίταις. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπὸ τύχης πρόσκρουσμα συνέβη περὶ τοὺς στρατευομένους.

XX. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσας στόλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ λαμπρῶς ταῖς μὲν Ἑλληνίσι πόλεσιν ὧν ἐδέοντο διεπράξατο καὶ προσηνέχθη φιλανθρώπως, τοῖς δὲ περιοικοῦσι βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάσταις ἐπεδείξατο μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ᾗ βούλοιντο πλεόντων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ' αὑτοῖς πεποιημένων τὴν θάλασσαν, Σινωπεῦσι δὲ τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς ἀπέλιπε μετὰ Λαμάχου καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ Τιμησί-

within its borders. But he was admired and celebrated even amongst foreigners for his circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus,[1] when he put to sea from Pegae in the Megarid with a hundred triremes. He not only ravaged a great strip of seashore, as Tolmides had done before him, but also advanced far into the interior with the hoplites from his ships, and drove all his enemies inside their walls in terror at his approach, excepting only the Sicyonians, who made a stand against him in Nemea, and joined battle with him; these he routed by main force and set up a trophy for his victory. Then from Achaia, which was friendly to him, he took soldiers on board his triremes, and proceeded with his armament to the opposite mainland, where he sailed up the Acheloüs, overran Acarnania, shut up the people of Oeniadae behind their walls, and after ravaging and devastating their territory, went off homewards, having shown himself formidable to his enemies, but a safe and efficient leader for his fellow-citizens. For nothing untoward befell, even as result of chance, those who took part in the expedition.

XX. He also sailed into the Euxine Sea[2] with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighbouring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control. He also left with the banished Sinopians thirteen ships of war and soldiers under command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesi-

[1] 453 B.C. [2] Probably about 436 B.C.

2 λεων τύραννον. ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐψηφίσατο πλεῖν εἰς Σινώπην Ἀθηναίων ἐθελοντὰς ἑξακοσίους καὶ συγκατοικεῖν Σινωπεῦσι, νειμαμένους οἰκίας καὶ χώραν ἣν πρότερον οἱ τύραννοι κατεῖχον.

Τἆλλα δ' οὐ συνεχώρει ταῖς ὁρμαῖς τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐδὲ συνεξέπιπτεν ὑπὸ ῥώμης καὶ τύχης τοσαύτης ἐπαιρομένων Αἰγύπτου τε πάλιν ἀντι- 164
λαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κινεῖν τῆς βασιλέως ἀρχῆς τὰ
3 πρὸς θαλάσσῃ. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Σικελίας ὁ δύσερως ἐκεῖνος ἤδη καὶ δύσποτμος ἔρως εἶχεν, ὃν ὕστερον ἐξέκαυσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ῥήτορες. ἦν δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνία καὶ Καρχηδὼν ἐνίοις ὄνειρος οὐκ ἀπ' ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὴν εὔροιαν τῶν πραγμάτων.

XXI. Ἀλλ' ὁ Περικλῆς κατεῖχε τὴν ἐκδρομὴν ταύτην καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμεως ἔτρεπεν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ βεβαιότητα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μέγα ἔργον ἡγούμενος ἀνείργειν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ὅλως ὑπεναντιούμενος ἐκείνοις, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἔδειξε καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἱερὸν πραχθεῖσι
2 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς Φωκέων ἐχόντων τὸ ἱερὸν Δελφοῖς ἀπέδωκαν, εὐθὺς ἐκείνων ἀπαλλαγέντων

leos. When the tyrant and his adherents had been driven from the city, Pericles got a bill passed providing that six hundred volunteers of the Athenians should sail to Sinope and settle down there with the Sinopians, dividing up among themselves the houses and lands which the tyrant and his followers had formerly occupied.

But in other matters he did not accede to the vain impulses of the citizens, nor was he swept along with the tide when they were eager, from a sense of their great power and good fortune, to lay hands again upon Egypt and molest the realms of the King which lay along the sea. Many also were possessed already with that inordinate and inauspicious passion for Sicily which was afterwards kindled into flame by such orators as Alcibiades. And some there were who actually dreamed of Tuscany and Carthage, and that not without a measure of hope, in view of the magnitude of their present supremacy and the full-flowing tide of success in their undertakings.

XXI. But Pericles was ever trying to restrain this extravagance of theirs, to lop off their expansive meddlesomeness, and to divert the greatest part of their forces to the guarding and securing of what they had already won. He considered it a great achievement to hold the Lacedaemonians in check, and set himself in opposition to these in every way, as he showed, above all other things, by what he did in the Sacred War.[1] The Lacedaemonians made an expedition to Delphi while the Phocians had possession of the sanctuary there, and restored it to the Delphians; but no sooner had the Lacedaemo-

[1] About 448 B.C.

ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπιστρατεύσας πάλιν εἰσήγαγε τοὺς Φωκέας. καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἣν ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς Δελφοὶ προμαντείαν εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ἐγκολαψάντων τοῦ χαλκοῦ λύκου, λαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς προμαντείαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λύκον κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν ἐνεχάραξεν.

XXII. Ὅτι δ' ὀρθῶς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνεῖχεν, ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτῷ τὰ γενόμενα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπέστησαν, ἐφ' οὓς διέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως. εἶτ' εὐθὺς ἀπηγγέλλοντο Μεγαρεῖς ἐκπεπολεμωμένοι καὶ στρατιὰ πολεμίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Ἀττικῆς οὖσα, Πλειστώνακτος ἡγουμένου, βασιλέως Λακεδαι-
2 μονίων. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς κατὰ τάχος ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀνεκομίζετο πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πόλεμον· καὶ συνάψαι μὲν εἰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐθάρσησε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ὁπλίταις προκαλουμένοις, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Πλειστώνακτα νέον ὄντα κομιδῇ, χρώμενον δὲ μάλιστα Κλεανδρίδῃ τῶν συμβούλων, ὃν οἱ ἔφοροι φύλακα καὶ πάρεδρον αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν συνέπεμψαν, ἐπειρᾶτο τούτου κρύφα· καὶ ταχὺ διαφθείρας χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους.

3 Ὡς δ' ἀπεχώρησεν ἡ στρατιὰ καὶ διελύθη κατὰ πόλεις, βαρέως φέροντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν μὲν βασιλέα χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, ὧν τὸ πλῆθος

nians departed than Pericles made a counter expedition and reinstated the Phocians. And whereas the Lacedaemonians had had the "promanteia," or right of consulting the oracle in behalf of others also, which the Delphians had bestowed upon them, carved upon the forehead of the bronze wolf in the sanctuary, he secured from the Phocians this high privilege for the Athenians, and had it chiselled along the right side of the same wolf.

XXII. That he was right in seeking to confine the power of the Athenians within lesser Greece, was amply proved by what came to pass. To begin with, the Euboeans revolted,[1] and he crossed over to the island with a hostile force. Then straightway word was brought to him that the Megarians had gone over to the enemy, and that an army of the enemy was on the confines of Attica under the leadership of Pleistoanax, the king of the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly, Pericles brought his forces back with speed from Euboea for the war in Attica. He did not venture to join battle with hoplites who were so many, so brave, and so eager for battle, but seeing that Pleistoanax was a very young man, and that out of all his advisers he set most store by Cleandridas, whom the ephors had sent along with him, by reason of his youth, to be a guardian and an assistant to him, he secretly made trial of this man's integrity, speedily corrupted him with bribes, and persuaded him to lead the Peloponnesians back out of Attica.

When the army had withdrawn and had been disbanded to their several cities, the Lacedaemonians, in indignation, laid a heavy fine upon their king,

[1] 446 B.C.

οὐκ ἔχων ἐκτῖσαι μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, τοῦ δὲ Κλεανδρίδου φεύγοντος θάνατον κατέγνωσαν. οὗτος δ' ἦν πατὴρ Γυλίππου τοῦ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμήσαντος. ἔοικε δ' ὥσπερ συγγενικὸν αὐτῷ προστρίψασθαι νόσημα τὴν φιλαργυρίαν ἡ φύσις, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσχρῶς ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις ἁλοὺς ἐξέπεσε τῆς Σπάρτης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λυσάνδρου δεδηλώκαμεν.

XXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ἐν τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπολογισμῷ δέκα ταλάντων ἀνάλωμα γράψαντος ἀνηλωμένων εἰς τὸ δέον, ὁ δῆμος ἀπεδέξατο μὴ πολυπραγμονήσας μηδ' ἐλέγξας τὸ ἀπόρρητον. ἔνιοι δ' ἱστορήκασιν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Θεόφραστος ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅτι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐφοίτα δέκα τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ Περικλέους, οἷς τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας θεραπεύων παρητεῖτο τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ τὴν εἰρήνην ὠνούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ παρασκευασάμενος καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἔμελλε πολεμήσειν βέλτιον.
2 αὖθις[1] οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας τραπόμενος καὶ διαβὰς εἰς Εὔβοιαν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις κατεστρέψατο τὰς πόλεις. καὶ Χαλκιδέων μὲν τοὺς ἱπποβότας λεγομένους πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέροντας ἐξέβαλεν, Ἑστιεῖς δὲ πάντας ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἀθηναίους κατῴκισε, μόνοις τούτοις ἀπαραιτήτως χρησάμενος ὅτι ναῦν Ἀττικὴν αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἄνδρας. 16

[1] αὖθις Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : εὐθύς (*at once*).

the full amount of which he was unable to pay, and so betook himself out of Lacedaemon, while Cleandridas, who had gone into voluntary exile, was condemned to death. He was the father of that Gylippus who overcame the Athenians in Sicily. And nature seems to have imparted covetousness to the son, as it were a congenital disease, owing to which he too, after noble achievements, was caught in base practices and banished from Sparta in disgrace. This story, however, I have told at length in my life of Lysander.[1]

XXIII. When Pericles, in rendering his accounts for this campaign, recorded an expenditure of ten talents as "for sundry needs," the people approved it without officious meddling and without even investigating the mystery. But some writers, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, have stated that every year ten talents found their way to Sparta from Pericles, and that with these he conciliated all the officials there, and so staved off the war, not purchasing peace, but time, in which he could make preparations at his leisure and then carry on war all the better. However that may be, he again turned his attention to the rebels, and after crossing to Euboea with fifty ships of war and five thousand hoplites, he subdued the cities there. Those of the Chalcidians who were styled Hippobotae, or *Knights*, and who were preëminent for wealth and reputation, he banished their city, and all the Hestiaeans he removed from the country and settled Athenians in their places, treating them, and them only, thus inexorably, because they had taken an Attic ship captive and slain its crew.

[1] Chapters xvi. f.

XXIV. Ἐκ τούτου γενομένων σπονδῶν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰς ἔτη τριάκοντα ψηφίζεται τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, αἰτίαν ποιησάμενος κατ' αὐτῶν ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους κελευόμενοι διαλύσασθαι πόλεμον οὐχ ὑπήκουον.

Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀσπασίᾳ χαριζόμενος δοκεῖ πρᾶξαι τὰ πρὸς Σαμίους, ἐνταῦθα ἂν εἴη καιρὸς διαπορῆσαι μάλιστα περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τίνα τέχνην ἢ δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἔχουσα τῶν τε πολιτικῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις οὐ φαῦλον οὐδ' ὀλίγου ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρέσχε λόγον.
2 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μιλησία γένος, Ἀξιόχου θυγάτηρ, ὁμολογεῖται· φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν Θαργηλίαν τινὰ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἰάδων ζηλώσασαν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις ἀνδράσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Θαργηλία τό τ' εἶδος εὐπρεπὴς γενομένη καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα μετὰ δεινότητος πλείστοις μὲν Ἑλλήνων συνῴκησεν ἀνδράσι, πάντας δὲ προσεποίησε βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλησιάσαντας αὐτῇ, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι μηδισμοῦ δι' ἐκείνων ὑπέσπειρεν ἀρχὰς δυνατωτάτων ὄντων
3 καὶ μεγίστων. τὴν δ' Ἀσπασίαν οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφήν τινα καὶ πολιτικὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους σπουδασθῆναι λέγουσι· καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔστιν ὅτε μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ἐφοίτα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκροασομένας οἱ συνήθεις ἦγον ὡς[1] αὐτήν, καίπερ οὐ κοσμίου προεστῶσαν ἐργασίας οὐδὲ σεμνῆς, ἀλλὰ παιδίσκας ἑταιρούσας τρέφουσαν·

[1] ὡς Fuhr and Blass, with F[a]S : εἰς.

XXIV. After this, when peace had been made for thirty years between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, he got a decree passed for his expedition to Samos,[1] alleging against its people that, though they were ordered to break off their war against the Milesians, they were not complying.

Now, since it is thought that he proceeded thus against the Samians to gratify Aspasia, this may be a fitting place to raise the query what great art or power this woman had, that she managed as she pleased the foremost men of the state, and afforded the philosophers occasion to discuss her in exalted terms and at great length. That she was a Milesian by birth, daughter of one Axiochus, is generally agreed; and they say that it was in emulation of Thargelia, an Ionian woman of ancient times, that she made her onslaughts upon the most influential men. This Thargelia came to be a great beauty and was endowed with grace of manners as well as clever wits. Inasmuch as she lived on terms of intimacy with numberless Greeks, and attached all her consorts to the king of Persia, she stealthily sowed the seeds of Persian sympathy in the cities of Greece by means of these lovers of hers, who were men of the greatest power and influence. And so Aspasia, as some say, was held in high favour by Pericles because of her rare political wisdom. Socrates sometimes came to see her with his disciples, and his intimate friends brought their wives to her to hear her discourse, although she presided over a business that was anything but honest or even reputable, since she kept a house of young courtesans. And Aeschines[2] says

[1] 440 B.C.

[2] Aeschines the Socratic, in a dialogue entitled "Aspasia," not extant.

4 Αἰσχίνης δέ φησι καὶ Λυσικλέα τὸν προβατοκάπηλον ἐξ ἀγεννοῦς καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὴν φύσιν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἀσπασίᾳ συνόντα μετὰ τὴν Περικλέους τελευτήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενεξένῳ τῷ Πλάτωνος, εἰ καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὰ πρῶτα γέγραπται, τοσοῦτόν γ' ἱστορίας ἔνεστιν, ὅτι δόξαν εἶχε τὸ γύναιον ἐπὶ ῥητορικῇ πολλοῖς
5 Ἀθηναίων ὁμιλεῖν. φαίνεται μέντοι μᾶλλον ἐρωτική τις ἡ τοῦ Περικλέους ἀγάπησις γενομένη πρὸς Ἀσπασίαν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ γυνὴ προσήκουσα μὲν κατὰ γένος, συνῳκηκυῖα δ' Ἱππονίκῳ πρότερον, ἐξ οὗ Καλλίαν ἔτεκε τὸν πλούσιον· ἔτεκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Περικλεῖ Ξάνθιππον καὶ Πάραλον. εἶτα τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἀρεστῆς, ἐκείνην μὲν ἑτέρῳ βουλομένην συνεξέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν λαβὼν ἔστερξε
6 διαφερόντως. καὶ γὰρ ἐξιών, ὥς φασι, καὶ εἰσιὼν ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἠσπάζετο καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ καταφιλεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς κωμῳδίαις Ὀμφάλη τε νέα καὶ Δηϊάνειρα καὶ πάλιν Ἥρα προσαγορεύεται. Κρατῖνος δ' ἄντικρυς παλλακὴν αὐτὴν εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις·

Ἥραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγοσύνη παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα.

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν νόθον ἐκ ταύτης τεκνῶσαι, περὶ οὗ πεποίηκεν Εὔπολις ἐν Δήμοις αὐτὸν μὲν οὕτως ἐρωτῶντα·

Ὁ νόθος δέ μοι ζῇ;

τὸν δὲ Μυρωνίδην ἀποκρινόμενον·

Καὶ πάλαι γ' ἂν ἦν ἀνήρ,
εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρνης ὑπωρρώδει κακόν.

that Lysicles the sheep-dealer, a man of low birth and nature, came to be the first man at Athens by living with Aspasia after the death of Pericles. And in the "Menexenus" of Plato, even though the first part of it be written in a sportive vein, there is, at any rate, thus much of fact, that the woman had the reputation of associating with many Athenians as a teacher of rhetoric. However, the affection which Pericles had for Aspasia seems to have been rather of an amatory sort. For his own wife was near of kin to him, and had been wedded first to Hipponicus, to whom she bore Callias, surnamed the Rich; she bore also, as the wife of Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus. Afterwards, since their married life was not agreeable, he legally bestowed her upon another man, with her own consent, and himself took Aspasia, and loved her exceedingly. Twice a day, as they say, on going out and on coming in from the market-place, he would salute her with a loving kiss.

But in the comedies she is styled now the New Omphale, new Deianeira, and now Hera. Cratinus[1] flatly called her a prostitute in these lines:—

"As his Hera, Aspasia was born, the child of Unnatural Lust,
A prostitute past shaming."

And it appears also that he begat from her that bastard son about whom Eupolis, in his "Demes," represented him as inquiring with these words:—

"And my bastard, doth he live?"

to which Myronides replies:—

"Yea, and long had been a man,
Had he not feared the mischief of his harlot-birth."[2]

[1] In his "Cheirons" (see chapter iii. 3).
[2] Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 282.

7 Οὕτω δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν ὀνομαστὴν καὶ κλεινὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὥστε καὶ Κῦρον τὸν πολεμησαντα βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας τὴν ἀγαπωμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τῶν παλλακίδων Ἀσπασίαν ὀνομάσαι, καλουμένην Μιλτὼ πρότερον. ἦν δὲ Φωκαΐς τὸ γένος, Ἑρμοτίμου θυγάτηρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Κύρου πεσόντος ἀπαχθεῖσα πρὸς βασιλέα πλεῖστον ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπελθόντα τῇ μνήμῃ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ παρελθεῖν ἴσως ἀπάνθρωπον ἦν.

XXV. Τὸν δὲ πρὸς Σαμίους πόλεμον αἰτιῶνται μάλιστα τὸν Περικλέα ψηφίσασθαι διὰ Μιλησίους Ἀσπασίας δεηθείσης. αἱ γὰρ πόλεις ἐπολέμουν τὸν περὶ Πριήνης πόλεμον, καὶ κρα- 166
τοῦντες οἱ Σάμιοι, παύσασθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων κελευόντων καὶ δίκας λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν μὲν οὖσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐν Σάμῳ κατέλυσεν, τῶν δὲ πρώτων λαβὼν ὁμήρους πεντήκοντα καὶ
2 παῖδας ἴσους εἰς Λῆμνον ἀπέστειλε. καίτοι φασὶν ἕκαστον μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ὁμήρων διδόναι τάλαντον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι δημοκρατίαν. ἔτι δὲ Πισσούθνης ὁ Πέρσης ἔχων τινὰ πρὸς Σαμίους εὔνοιαν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μυρίους χρυσοῦς, παραιτούμενος τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαβε τούτων οὐδὲν ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ χρησάμενος ὥσπερ ἐγνώκει τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ καταστήσας
3 δημοκρατίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. οἱ δ'

So renowned and celebrated did Aspasia become, they say, that even Cyrus, the one who went to war with the Great King for the sovereignty of the Persians, gave the name of Aspasia to that one of his concubines whom he loved best, who before was called Milto. She was a Phocaean by birth, daughter of one Hermotimus, and, after Cyrus had fallen in battle, was carried captive to the King,[1] and acquired the greatest influence with him. These things coming to my recollection as I write, it were perhaps unnatural to reject and pass them by.

XXV. But to return to the war against the Samians, they accuse Pericles of getting the decree for this passed at the request of Aspasia and in the special behalf of the Milesians. For the two cities were waging their war for the possession of Priene, and the Samians were getting the better of it, and when the Athenians ordered them to stop the contest and submit the case to arbitration at Athens, they would not obey. So Pericles set sail and broke up the oligarchical government which Samos had, and then took fifty of the foremost men of the state, with as many of their children, as hostages, and sent them off to Lemnos. And yet they say that every one of these hostages offered him a talent on his own account, and that the opponents of democracy in the city offered him many talents besides. And still further, Pissouthnes, the Persian satrap, who had much good-will towards the Samians, sent him ten thousand gold staters and interceded for the city. However, Pericles took none of these bribes, but treated the Samians just as he had determined, set up a democracy and sailed back to Athens. Then

[1] Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 10, 2.

εὐθὺς ἀπέστησαν, ἐκκλέψαντος αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὁμήρους Πισσούθνου καὶ τἆλλα παρασκευάσαντος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. αὖθις οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐξέπλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἡσυχάζοντας οὐδὲ κατεπτηχότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ἐγνωκότας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς ναυμαχίας περὶ νῆσον ἣν Τραγίας καλοῦσι, λαμπρῶς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐνίκα, τέσσαρσι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶν ἑβδομήκοντα καταναυμαχήσας, ὧν εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες ἦσαν.

XXVI. Ἅμα δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει τοῦ λιμένος κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς Σαμίους, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἔτι τολμῶντας ἐπεξιέναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζων ἕτερος στόλος ἦλθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ παντελῶς κατεκλείσθησαν οἱ Σάμιοι, λαβὼν ὁ Περικλῆς ἑξήκοντα τριήρεις ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὸν ἔξω πόντον, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, Φοινισσῶν νεῶν ἐπικούρων τοῖς Σαμίοις προσφερομένων ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι πορρωτάτω βουλόμενος, ὡς δὲ Στησίμβροτος, ἐπὶ Κύπρον στελλόμενος· ὅπερ οὐ
2 δοκεῖ πιθανὸν εἶναι. ὁποτέρῳ δ' οὖν ἐχρήσατο τῶν λογισμῶν, ἁμαρτεῖν ἔδοξε. πλεύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ Μέλισσος ὁ Ἰθαγένους, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος στρατηγῶν τότε τῆς Σάμου, καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀλιγότητος τῶν νεῶν ἢ τῆς ἀπειρίας τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἔπεισε τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ γενομένης μάχης νικήσαντες οἱ Σάμιοι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἑλόντες,

the Samians at once revolted, after Pissouthnes had stolen away their hostages from Lemnos for them, and in other ways equipped them for the war. Once more, therefore, Pericles set sail against them. They were not victims of sloth, nor yet of abject terror, but full of exceeding zeal in their determination to contest the supremacy of the sea. In a fierce sea-fight which came off near an island called Tragia, Pericles won a brilliant victory, with four and forty ships outfighting seventy, twenty of which were infantry transports.

XXVI. Close on the heels of his victorious pursuit came his seizure of the harbour, and then he laid formal siege to the Samians, who, somehow or other, still had the daring to sally forth and fight with him before their walls. But soon a second and a larger armament came from Athens, and the Samians were completely beleaguered and shut in. Then Pericles took sixty triremes and sailed out into the main sea, as most authorities say, because he wished to meet a fleet of Phoenician ships which was coming to the aid of the Samians, and fight it at as great a distance from Samos as possible; but according to Stesimbrotus, because he had designs on Cyprus, which seems incredible. But in any case, whichever design he cherished, he seems to have made a mistake. For no sooner had he sailed off than Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a philosopher who was then acting as general at Samos, despising either the small number of ships that were left, or the inexperience of the generals in charge of them, persuaded his fellow-citizens to make an attack upon the Athenians. In the battle that ensued the Samians were victorious, taking many of their enemy

πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς διαφθείραντες, ἐχρῶντο τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ παρετίθεντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς
3 τὸν πόλεμον ὅσα μὴ πρότερον εἶχον. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Μελίσσου καὶ Περικλέα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλης ἡττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντα πρότερον.

Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνθυβρίζοντες ἔστιζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γλαῦκας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σάμαιναν. ἡ δὲ σάμαινα ναῦς ἐστιν ὑόπρωρος μὲν τὸ σίμωμα, κοιλοτέρα δὲ καὶ γαστροειδής, ὥστε καὶ ποντοπο-
4 ρεῖν[1] καὶ ταχυναυτεῖν. οὕτω δ' ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Σάμῳ φανῆναι, Πολυκράτους τυράννου κατασκευάσαντος. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ στίγματα λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Ἀριστοφάνειον ᾠνίχθαι·

Σαμίων ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὡς πολυγραμματος.

XXVII. Πυθόμενος δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου συμφορὰν ἐβοήθει κατὰ τάχος. καὶ τοῦ Μελίσσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξαμένου κρατήσας καὶ τρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους εὐθὺς περιετείχιζε, δαπάνῃ καὶ χρόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τραύμασι καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν περιγενέσθαι
2 καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ δυσχεραίνοντας τῇ τριβῇ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μάχεσθαι προθυμουμένους ἔργον ἦν κατασχεῖν, ὀκτὼ μέρη διελὼν τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἀπεκλήρου, καὶ τῷ λαβόντι τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον εὐωχεῖσθαι καὶ

[1] ποντοπορεῖν MSS. and Blass: φορτοφορεῖν (a conjecture of Coraës, *to carry freight*).

captive, and destroying many of their ships, so that they commanded the sea and laid in large store of such necessaries for the war as they did not have before. And Aristotle says that Pericles was himself also defeated by Melissus in the sea-fight which preceded this.

The Samians retaliated upon the Athenians by branding their prisoners in the forehead with owls; for the Athenians had once branded some of them with the samaena. Now the samaena is a ship of war with a boar's head design for prow and ram, but more capacious than usual and paunchlike, so that it is a good deep-sea traveller and a swift sailer too. It got this name because it made its first appearance in Samos, where Polycrates the tyrant had some built. To these brand-marks, they say, the verse of Aristophanes [1] made riddling reference :—

"For oh! how lettered is the folk of the Samians!"

XXVII. Be that true or not, when Pericles learned of the disaster which had befallen his fleet, he came speedily to its aid. And though Melissus arrayed his forces against him, he conquered and routed the enemy and at once walled their city in, preferring to get the upper hand and capture it at the price of money and time, rather than of the wounds and deadly perils of his fellow-citizens. And since it was a hard task for him to restrain the Athenians in their impatience of delay and eagerness to fight, he separated his whole force into eight divisions, had them draw lots, and allowed the division which got the white bean to feast and take their ease, while the others

[1] From his *Babylonians*, not extant. Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 408.

σχολάζειν παρεῖχε τῶν ἄλλων μαχομένων. διὸ καί φασι τοὺς ἐν εὐπαθείαις τισὶ γενομένους λευκὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ κυάμου προσαγορεύειν.

3 Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς χρήσασθαι τὸν 167
Περικλέα, τὴν καινότητα θαυμάσαντα, Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ μηχανικοῦ παρόντος, ὃν χωλὸν ὄντα καὶ φορείῳ πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἔργων προσκομιζόμενον ὀνομασθῆναι περιφόρητον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐλέγχει τοῖς Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων ὀνομάζεται πολλαῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἡλικίαις τοῦ περὶ Σάμον πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
4 ἐκείνων· τὸν δ' Ἀρτέμωνά φησι τρυφερόν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακὸν ὄντα καὶ καταπλῆγα τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι καθέζεσθαι, χαλκῆν ἀσπίδα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ δυεῖν οἰκετῶν ὑπερεχόντων, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐμπεσεῖν τῶν ἄνωθεν, εἰ δὲ βιασθείη προελθεῖν, ἐν κλινιδίῳ κρεμαστῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφερόμενον κομίζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι περιφόρητον.

XXVIII. Ἐνάτῳ δὲ μηνὶ τῶν Σαμίων παραστάντων ὁ Περικλῆς τὰ τείχη καθεῖλε καὶ τὰς ναῦς παρέλαβε καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐζημίωσεν, ὧν τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰσήνεγκαν[1] οἱ Σάμιοι, τὰ δ' ἐν χρόνῳ ῥητῷ ταξάμενοι κατοίσειν ὁμήρους ἔδωκαν. Δοῦρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος τούτοις ἐπιτραγῳδεῖ πολλὴν ὠμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν, ἣν οὔτε Θουκυδίδης ἱστόρηκεν οὔτ'
2 Ἔφορος οὔτ' Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀληθεύειν ἔοικεν, ὡς ἄρα τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-

[1] εἰσήνεγκαν Fuhr and Blass, with F^aS : ἤνεγκαν.

did the fighting. And this is the reason, as they say, why those who have had a gay and festive time call it a "white day,"—from the white bean.

Ephorus says that Pericles actually employed siege-engines, in his admiration of their novelty, and that Artemon the engineer was with him there, who, since he was lame, and so had to be brought on a stretcher to the works which demanded his instant attention, was dubbed Periphoretus. Heracleides Ponticus, however, refutes this story out of the poems of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphoretus is mentioned many generations before the Samian War and its events. And he says that Artemon was very luxurious in his life, as well as weak and panic-stricken in the presence of his fears, and therefore for the most part sat still at home, while two servants held a bronze shield over his head to keep anything from falling down upon it. Whenever he was forced to go abroad, he had himself carried in a little hammock which was *borne along* just above the surface of the ground. On this account he was called Periphoretus.

XXVIII. After eight months the Samians surrendered, and Pericles tore down their walls, took away their ships of war, and laid a heavy fine upon them, part of which they paid at once, and part they agreed to pay at a fixed time, giving hostages therefor. To these details Duris the Samian adds stuff for tragedy, accusing the Athenians and Pericles of great brutality, which is recorded neither by Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle. But he appears not to speak the truth when he says, forsooth, that Pericles had the Samian trierarchs and marines brought into

βάτας τῶν Σαμίων εἰς τὴν Μιλησίων ἀγορὰν καταγαγὼν[1] καὶ σανίσι προσδήσας ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα κακῶς ἤδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν, ξύλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς συγκόψαντας, εἶτα προβα-
3 λεῖν ἀκήδευτα τὰ σώματα. Δοῦρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὅπου μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσεστιν ἴδιον πάθος εἰωθὼς κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα δεινῶσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

'Ο δὲ Περικλῆς καταστρεψάμενος τὴν Σάμον ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ταφάς τε τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνδόξους ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν λόγον εἰπών, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τῶν
4 σημάτων ἐθαυμαστώθη. καταβαίνοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι γυναῖκες ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν καὶ ταινίαις ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν νικηφόρον, ἡ δ' Ἐλπινίκη προσελθοῦσα πλησίον· "Ταῦτ'," ἔφη, "θαυμαστά, Περίκλεις, καὶ ἄξια στεφάνων, ὃς ἡμῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπώλεσας πολίτας οὐ Φοίνιξι πολεμῶν οὐδὲ Μήδοις, ὥσπερ οὑμὸς ἀδελφὸς Κίμων, ἀλλὰ σύμμαχον καὶ συγγενῆ πόλιν καταστρεφόμενος."
5 ταῦτα τῆς Ἐλπινίκης λεγούσης ὁ Περικλῆς μειδιάσας ἀτρέμα λέγεται τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν·

Οὐκ ἂν μύροισι γραῦς ἐοῦσ' ἠλείφεο.

θαυμαστὸν δέ τι καὶ μέγα φρονῆσαι καταπολεμήσαντα τοὺς Σαμίους φησὶν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἴων, ὡς

[1] καταγαγὼν Fuhr and Blass, with $F^{a}S$: ἀγαγών.

the market-place of Miletus and crucified there, and that then, when they had already suffered grievously for ten days, he gave orders to break their heads in with clubs and make an end of them, and then cast their bodies forth without burial rites. At all events, since it is not the wont of Duris, even in cases where he has no private and personal interest, to hold his narrative down to the fundamental truth, it is all the more likely that here, in this instance, he has given a dreadful portrayal of the calamities of his country, that he might calumniate the Athenians.

When Pericles, after his subjection of Samos, had returned to Athens, he gave honourable burial to those who had fallen in the war, and for the oration which he made, according to the custom, over their tombs, he won the greatest admiration. But as he came down from the bema, while the rest of the women clasped his hand and fastened wreaths and fillets on his head, as though he were some victorious athlete, Elpinice drew nigh and said: "This is admirable in thee, Pericles, and deserving of wreaths, in that thou hast lost us many brave citizens, not in a war with Phoenicians or Medes, like my brother Cimon, but in the subversion of an allied and kindred city." On Elpinice's saying this, Pericles, with a quiet smile, it is said, quoted to her the verse of Archilochus:—

"Thou hadst not else, in spite of years, perfumed thyself." [1]

Ion says that he had the most astonishingly great thoughts of himself for having subjected the

[1] That is, "thou art too old to meddle in affairs." Cf. chapter x. 5.

τοῦ μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἔτεσι δέκα βάρβαρον πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ μησὶν ἐννέα τοὺς πρώτους καὶ
6 δυνατωτάτους Ἰώνων ἑλόντος. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἄδικος ἡ ἀξίωσις, ἀλλ' ὄντος πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μέγαν ἔσχε κίνδυνον ὁ πόλεμος, εἴπερ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησί, παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἦλθε Σαμίων ἡ πόλις ἀφελέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος Ἀθηναίους.

XXIX. Μετὰ ταῦτα κυμαίνοντος ἤδη τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, Κερκυραίοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ἀποστεῖλαι βοήθειαν καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἐρρωμένην ναυτικῇ δυνάμει νῆσον, ὡς ὅσον οὐδέπω Πελο-
2 ποννησίων ἐκπεπολεμωμένων πρὸς αὐτούς. ψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλε δέκα ναῦς μόνας ἔχοντα Λακεδαιμόνιον, τὸν Κίμωνος υἱόν, οἷον ἐφυβρίζων· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν εὔνοια καὶ φιλία τῷ Κίμωνος οἴκῳ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς ἂν οὖν, εἰ μηδὲν ἔργον μέγα μηδ' ἐκπρεπὲς ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ 16
Λακεδαιμονίου γένοιτο, προσδιαβληθείη μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν λακωνισμόν, ὀλίγας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ
3 μὴ βουλόμενον ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ ὅλως διετέλει κολούων ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι γνησίους, ἀλλ' ὀθνείους καὶ ξένους, ὅτι τῶν Κίμωνος υἱῶν τῷ μὲν ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ Θεσσαλός, τῷ δὲ Ἠλεῖος. ἐδόκουν δὲ πάντες ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀρκαδικῆς γεγονέναι.

Samians; whereas Agamemnon was all of ten years in taking a barbarian city, he had in nine months time reduced the foremost and most powerful people of Ionia. And indeed his estimate of himself was not unjust, nay, the war actually brought with it much uncertainty and great peril, if indeed, as Thucydides says,[1] the city of Samos came within a very little of stripping from Athens her power on the sea.

XXIX. After this, when the billows of the Peloponnesian War were already rising and swelling, he persuaded the people to send aid and succour to the Corcyraeans[2] in their war with the Corinthians, and so to attach to themselves an island with a vigorous naval power at a time when the Peloponnesians were as good as actually at war with them. But when the people had voted to send the aid and succour, he despatched Lacedaemonius, the son of Cimon, with only ten ships, as it were in mockery of him. Now there was much good-will and friendship on the part of the house of Cimon towards the Lacedaemonians. In order, therefore, that in case no great or conspicuous achievement should be performed under the generalship of Lacedaemonius, he might so be all the more calumniated for his laconism, or sympathy with Sparta, Pericles gave him only a few ships, and sent him forth against his will. And in general he was prone to thwart and check the sons of Cimon, on the plea that not even in their names were they genuinely native, but rather aliens and strangers, since one of them bore the name of Lacedaemonius, another that of Thessalus, and a third that of Eleius. And they were all held to be the sons of a woman of Arcadia.[3]

[1] viii. 76, 4. [2] 433 B.C. [3] Cf. *Cimon*, xvi. 1.

Κακῶς οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἀκούων διὰ τὰς δέκα ταύτας τριήρεις, ὡς μικρὰν μὲν βοήθειαν τοῖς δεηθεῖσι, μεγάλην δὲ πρόφασιν τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσι παρεσχηκώς, ἑτέρας αὖθις ἔστειλε πλείονας εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν, αἳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφίκοντο.

4 Χαλεπαίνουσι δὲ τοῖς Κορινθίοις καὶ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι προσεγένοντο Μεγαρεῖς, αἰτιώμενοι πάσης μὲν ἀγορᾶς, πάντων δὲ λιμένων, ὧν Ἀθηναῖοι κρατοῦσιν, εἴργεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γεγενημένους ὅρκους τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· Αἰγινῆται δὲ κακοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες καὶ βίαια πάσχειν ἐποτνιῶντο κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, φανερῶς ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐ θαρροῦντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ποτίδαια, πόλις ὑπήκοος Ἀθηναίων, ἄποικος δὲ Κορινθίων, ἀποστᾶσα καὶ πολιορκουμένη μᾶλλον ἐπετάχυνε τὸν πόλεμον.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρεσβειῶν τε πεμπομένων Ἀθήναζε, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀρχιδάμου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰς διαλύσεις ἄγοντος καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους παραίνοντος, οὐκ ἂν δοκεῖ συμπεσεῖν ὑπό γε τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιῶν ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ τὸ ψήφισμα καθελεῖν τὸ Μεγαρικὸν ἐπείσθησαν καὶ διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦτο Περικλῆς ἐναντιωθείς, καὶ παροξύνας τὸν

Accordingly, being harshly criticised because of these paltry ten ships, on the ground that he had furnished scanty aid and succour to the needy friends of Athens, but a great pretext for war to her accusing enemies, he afterwards sent out other ships, and more of them, to Corcyra, the ones which got there after the battle.[1]

The Corinthians were incensed at this procedure, and denounced the Athenians at Sparta, and were joined by the Megarians, who brought their complaint that from every market-place and from all the harbours over which the Athenians had control, they were excluded and driven away, contrary to the common law and the formal oaths of the Greeks; the Aeginetans also, deeming themselves wronged and outraged, kept up a secret wailing in the ears of the Lacedaemonians, since they had not the courage to accuse the Athenians openly. At this juncture Potidaea, too, a city that was subject to Athens, although a colony of Corinth, revolted, and the siege laid to her hastened on the war all the more.

Notwithstanding all, since embassies were repeatedly sent to Athens, and since Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, tried to bring to a peaceful settlement most of the accusations of his allies and to soften their anger, it does not seem probable that the war would have come upon the Athenians for any remaining reasons, if only they could have been persuaded to rescind their decree against the Megarians and be reconciled with them. And therefore, since it was Pericles who was most of all opposed to this, and who incited the people to

[1] Cf. Thucydides, i. 50, 5.

δῆμον ἐμμεῖναι τῇ πρὸς τοὺς[1] Μεγαρεῖς φιλονεικίᾳ, μόνος ἔσχε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αἰτίαν.

XXX. Λέγουσι δὲ πρεσβείας Ἀθήναζε περὶ τούτων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀφιγμένης, καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους νόμον τινὰ προβαλλομένου κωλύοντα καθελεῖν τὸ πινάκιον ἐν ᾧ τὸ ψήφισμα γεγραμμένον ἐτύγχανεν, εἰπεῖν Πολυάλκη τῶν πρέσβεων τινά· "Σὺ δὲ μὴ καθέλῃς, ἀλλὰ στρέψον εἴσω τὸ πινάκιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι νόμος ὁ τοῦτο κωλύων." κομψοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου φανέντος οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὁ
2 Περικλῆς ἐνέδωκεν. ὑπῆν μὲν οὖν τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτῷ καὶ ἰδία πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς ἀπέχθεια· κοινὴν δὲ καὶ φανερὰν ποιησάμενος αἰτίαν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τὴν ἱερὰν ὀργάδα, γράφει ψήφισμα κήρυκα πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν αὐτὸν κατηγοροῦντα
3 τῶν Μεγαρέων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ψήφισμα Περικλέους ἐστὶν εὐγνώμονος καὶ φιλανθρώπου δικαιολογίας ἐχόμενον· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ πεμφθεὶς κῆρυξ Ἀνθεμόκριτος αἰτίᾳ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἀποθανεῖν ἔδοξε, γράφει ψήφισμα κατ' αὐτῶν Χαρῖνος, ἄσπονδον μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἔχθραν, ὃς δ' ἂν ἐπιβῇ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Μεγαρέων θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς, ὅταν ὀμνύωσι τὸν πάτριον ὅρκον, ἐπομνύειν ὅτι καὶ δὶς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσι· ταφῆναι δ' Ἀνθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Θριασίας πύλας, αἳ νῦν Δίπυλον ὀνομάζονται.

[1] πρὸς τοὺς Fuhr and Blass, with $F^{a}S$: πρός.

abide by their contention with the Megarians, he alone was held responsible for the war.

XXX. They say that when an embassy had come from Lacedaemon to Athens to treat of these matters, and Pericles was shielding himself behind the plea that a certain law prevented his taking down the tablet on which the decree was inscribed, Polyalces, one of the ambassadors, cried: "Well then, don't take it down, but turn the tablet to the wall; surely there's no law preventing that." Clever as the proposal was, however, not one whit the more did Pericles give in. He must have secretly cherished, then, as it seems, some private grudge against the Megarians; but by way of public and open charge he accused them of appropriating to their own profane uses the sacred territory of Eleusis, and proposed a decree that a herald be sent to them, the same to go also to the Lacedaemonians with a denunciation of the Megarians. This decree, at any rate, is the work of Pericles, and aims at a reasonable and humane justification of his course. But after the herald who was sent, Anthemocritus, had been put to death through the agency of the Megarians, as it was believed, Charinus proposed a decree against them, to the effect that there be irreconcilable and implacable enmity on the part of Athens towards them, and that whosoever of the Megarians should set foot on the soil of Attica be punished with death; and that the generals, whenever they should take their ancestral oath of office, add to their oath this clause, that they would invade the Megarid twice during each succeeding year; and that Anthemocritus be buried honourably at the Thriasian gates, which are now called the Dipylum.

4 Μεγαρεῖς δὲ τὸν Ἀνθεμοκρίτου φόνον ἀπαρνουμενοι τὰς αἰτίας εἰς Ἀσπασίαν καὶ Περικλέα τρέπουσι, χρώμενοι τοῖς περιβοήτοις καὶ δημώδεσι τούτοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων στιχιδίοις·

> Πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγάραδε
> νεανίαι κλέπτουσι μεθυσοκότταβοι·
> κἄθ' οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι
> ἀντεξέκλεψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνας δύο.

XXXI. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ὅπως ἔσχεν οὐ 169
ῥᾴδιον γνῶναι, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λυθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα πάντες ὡσαύτως τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ Περικλεῖ. πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἐκ φρονήματος μεγάλου μετὰ γνώμης κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπισχυρίσασθαί φασιν αὐτόν, πεῖραν ἐνδόσεως τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν ἐξομολόγησιν ἀσθενείας ἡγούμενον· οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐθαδείᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ πρὸς ἔνδειξιν ἰσχύος περιφρονῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίων.

2 Ἡ δὲ χειρίστη μὲν αἰτία πασῶν, ἔχουσα δὲ πλείστους μάρτυρας, οὕτω πως λέγεται. Φειδίας ὁ πλάστης ἐργολάβος μὲν ἦν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φίλος δὲ τῷ Περικλεῖ γενόμενος καὶ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεὶς τοὺς μὲν δι' αὑτὸν ἔσχεν ἐχθροὺς φθονούμενος, οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου ποιούμενοι πεῖραν ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ποῖός τις ἔσοιτο τῷ Περικλεῖ[1] κριτής, Μένωνά τινα τῶν

[1] τῷ Περικλεῖ Fuhr and Blass, with F[a]S : Περικλεῖ.

But the Megarians denied the murder of Anthemocritus, and threw the blame for Athenian hate on Aspasia and Pericles, appealing to those far-famed and hackneyed versicles of the "Acharnians":—

"Simaetha, harlot, one of Megara's womankind,
Was stolen by gilded youths more drunk than otherwise;
And so the Megarians, pangs of wrath all reeking hot,
Paid back the theft and raped of Aspasia's harlots two." [1]

XXXI. Well, then, whatever the original ground for enacting the decree,—and it is no easy matter to determine this,—the fact that it was not rescinded all men alike lay to the charge of Pericles. Only, some say that he persisted in his refusal in a lofty spirit and with a clear perception of the best interests of the city, regarding the injunction laid upon it as a test of its submissiveness, and its compliance as a confession of weakness; while others hold that it was rather with a sort of arrogance and love of strife, as well as for the display of his power, that he scornfully defied the Lacedaemonians.

But the worst charge of all, and yet the one which has the most vouchers, runs something like this. Pheidias the sculptor was contractor for the great statue, as I have said, and being admitted to the friendship of Pericles, and acquiring the greatest influence with him, made some enemies through the jealousy which he excited; others also made use of him to test the people and see what sort of a judge it would be in a case where Pericles was involved.

[1] Verses 524 ff.

Φειδίου συνεργῶν πείσαντες ἱκέτην ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθίζουσιν, αἰτούμενον ἄδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει καὶ
3 κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ Φειδίου. προσδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ διώξεως, κλοπαὶ μὲν οὐκ ἠλέγχοντο· τὸ γὰρ χρυσίον οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀγάλματι προσειργάσατο καὶ περιέθηκεν ὁ Φειδίας γνώμῃ τοῦ Περικλέους ὥστε πᾶν δυνατὸν εἶναι περιελοῦσιν ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν σταθμόν, ὃ καὶ τότε τοὺς κατηγόρους ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν ὁ Περικλῆς.
4 Ἡ δὲ δόξα τῶν ἔργων ἐπίεζε φθόνῳ τὸν Φειδίαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας μάχην ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι ποιῶν αὐτοῦ τινα μορφὴν ἐνετύπωσε πρεσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρον ἐπῳρμένου δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους εἰκόνα παγκάλην ἐνέθηκε μαχομένου πρὸς Ἀμαζόνα. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς χειρός, ἀνατεινούσης δόρυ πρὸ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ Περικλέους, πεποιημένον εὐμηχάνως οἷον ἐπικρύπτειν βούλεται τὴν ὁμοιότητα παραφαινομένην ἑκατέρωθεν.
5 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φειδίας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ὡς δέ φασιν ἔνιοι, φαρμάκοις, ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τοῦ Περικλέους τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρασκευασάντων. τῷ δὲ μηνυτῇ Μένωνι γράψαντος Γλύκωνος ἀτέλειαν ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκε, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

These latter persuaded one Menon, an assistant of Pheidias, to take a suppliant's seat in the market-place and demand immunity from punishment in case he should bring information and accusation against Pheidias. The people accepted the man's proposal, and formal prosecution of Pheidias was made in the assembly. Embezzlement, indeed, was not proven, for the gold of the statue, from the very start, had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Pheidias, at the wise suggestion of Pericles, that it could all be taken off and weighed,[1] and this is what Pericles actually ordered the accusers of Pheidias to do at this time.

But the reputation of his works nevertheless brought a burden of jealous hatred upon Pheidias, and especially the fact that when he wrought the battle of the Amazons on the shield of the goddess, he carved out a figure that suggested himself as a bald old man lifting on high a stone with both hands, and also inserted a very fine likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. And the attitude of the hand, which holds out a spear in front of the face of Pericles, is cunningly contrived as it were with a desire to conceal the resemblance, which is, however, plain to be seen from either side.

Pheidias, accordingly, was led away to prison, and died there of sickness; but some say of poison which the enemies of Pericles provided, that they might bring calumny upon him. And to Menon the informer, on motion of Glycon, the people gave immunity from taxation, and enjoined upon the generals to make provision for the man's safety.

[1] Cf. Thucydides, ii. 13, 5.

XXXII. Περὶ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἀσπασία δίκην ἔφευγεν ἀσεβείας, Ἑρμίππου τοῦ κωμῳδοποιοῦ διώκοντος καὶ προσκατηγοροῦντος ὡς Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτώσας ὑποδέχοιτο. καὶ ψήφισμα Διοπείθης ἔγραψεν εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας, ἀπερειδόμενος εἰς Περικλέα δι' Ἀναξαγόρου τὴν
2 ὑπόνοιαν. δεχομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ προσιεμένου τὰς διαβολάς, οὕτως ἤδη ψήφισμα κυροῦται, Δρακοντίδου γράψαντος, ὅπως οἱ λόγοι τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς τοὺς Πρυτάνεις ἀποτεθεῖεν, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες ἐν τῇ πόλει κρίνοιεν. Ἄγνων δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀφεῖλε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, κρίνεσθαι δὲ τὴν δίκην ἔγραψεν ἐν δικασταῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις, εἴτε κλοπῆς καὶ δώρων εἴτ' ἀδικίου βούλοιτό τις ὀνομάζειν τὴν δίωξιν.

3 Ἀσπασίαν μὲν οὖν ἐξητήσατο, πολλὰ πάνυ παρὰ τὴν δίκην, ὡς Αἰσχίνης φησίν, ἀφεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δάκρυα καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν δικαστῶν· Ἀναξαγόραν δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὡς δὲ διὰ Φειδίου προσέπταισε τῷ δήμῳ, φοβηθεὶς τὸ δικαστήριον μέλλοντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὑποτυφόμενον ἐξέκαυσεν, ἐλπίζων διασκεδάσειν τὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ ταπεινώσειν τὸν φθόνον ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ κινδύνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναθείσης ἑαυτήν. αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰτίαι δι' ἃς οὐκ 170

XXXII. About this time also Aspasia was put on trial for impiety, Hermippus the comic poet being her prosecutor, who alleged further against her that she received free-born women into a place of assignation for Pericles. And Diopeithes brought in a bill providing for the public impeachment of such as did not believe in gods, or who taught doctrines regarding the heavens, directing suspicion against Pericles by means of Anaxagoras. The people accepted with delight these slanders, and so, while they were in this mood, a bill was passed, on motion of Dracontides, that Pericles should deposit his accounts of public moneys with the prytanes, and that the jurors should decide upon his case with ballots which had lain upon the altar of the goddess on the acropolis. But Hagnon amended this clause of the bill with the motion that the case be tried before fifteen hundred jurors in the ordinary way, whether one wanted to call it a prosecution for embezzlement and bribery, or malversation.

Well, then, Aspasia he begged off, by shedding copious tears at the trial, as Aeschines says, and by entreating the jurors; and he feared for Anaxagoras so much that he sent him away from the city. And since in the case of Pheidias he had come into collision with the people, he feared a jury in his own case, and so kindled into flame the threatening and smouldering war, hoping thereby to dissipate the charges made against him and allay the people's jealousy, inasmuch as when great undertakings were on foot, and great perils threatened, the city entrusted herself to him and to him alone, by reason of his worth and power. Such, then, are the reasons which are alleged for his not suffering

εἴασεν ἐνδοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν δῆμον, αὗται λέγονται, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἄδηλον.

XXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γινώσκοντες ὡς ἐκείνου καταλυθέντος εἰς πάντα μαλακωτέροις χρήσονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον,[1] ᾧ τὸ μητρόθεν γένος τοῦ Περικλέους ἔνοχον ἦν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἱστόρηκεν.[2] ἡ δὲ πεῖρα περιέστη τοῖς πέμψασιν εἰς τοὐναντίον· ἀντὶ γὰρ ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς ὁ Περικλῆς ἔτι μείζονα πίστιν ἔσχε καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ὡς μάλιστα μισούντων καὶ
2 φοβουμένων ἐκεῖνον τῶν πολεμίων. διὸ καὶ πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἔχοντα τοὺς Πελοποννησίους προεῖπε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἂν ἄρα τἆλλα δῇῶν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἀπέχηται τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν ξενίαν τὴν οὖσαν αὐτοῖς, ἢ διαβολῆς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνδιδοὺς ἀφορμάς, ὅτι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπιδίδωσιν.

3 Ἐμβάλλουσιν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγουμένου. καὶ δῃοῦντες τὴν χώραν προῆλθον εἰς Ἀχαρνὰς καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἀνεξομένων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ φρονήματος
4 διαμαχουμένων πρὸς αὐτούς. τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τοὺς ἑξακισμυρίους Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ὁπλίτας (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ

[1] ἐλαύνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον Fuhr and Blass, with BCF^{a}S: ἐλαύνειν ᾧ.

[2] ἱστόρηκεν Fuhr and Blass, with BCF^{a}S: εἴρηκεν.

the people to yield to the Lacedaemonians; but the truth about it is not clear.

XXXIII. The Lacedaemonians, perceiving that if he were deposed they would find the Athenians more pliant in their hands, ordered them to drive out the Cylonian pollution,[1] in which the family of Pericles on his mother's side was involved, as Thucydides states.[2] But the attempt brought a result the opposite of what its makers designed, for in place of suspicion and slander, Pericles won even greater confidence and honour among the citizens than before, because they saw that their enemies hated and feared him above all other men. Therefore also, before Archidamus invaded Attica with the Peloponnesians, Pericles made public proclamation to the Athenians, that in case Archidamus, while ravaging everything else, should spare his estates, either out of regard for the friendly tie that existed between them, or with an eye to affording his enemies grounds for slander, he would make over to the city his lands and the homesteads thereon.

Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians and their allies invaded Attica with a great host under the leadership of Archidamus the king. And they advanced, ravaging the country as they went, as far as Acharnae, where they encamped, supposing that the Athenians would not tolerate it, but would fight with them out of angry pride. Pericles, however, looked upon it as a terrible thing to join battle with sixty thousand Peloponnesian and Boeotian hoplites

[1] That is, members of the Alcmaeonid family, which was involved in the stain of bloodguiltiness when the archon Megacles, about 636 B.C., sacrilegiously slew the followers of Cylon. See Plutarch, *Solon*, xii. 1–3; Thucydides, i. 126.

[2] i. 127, 1.

ἦσαν οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἐμβαλόντες) ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως μάχην συνάψαι· τοὺς δὲ βουλομένους μάχεσθαι καὶ δυσπαθοῦντας πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα κατεπράϋνε, λέγων ὡς δένδρα μὲν τμηθέντα καὶ κοπέντα φύεται ταχέως, ἀνδρῶν δὲ διαφθαρέντων
5 αὖθις τυχεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι. τὸν δὲ δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνῆγε δεδιὼς βιασθῆναι παρὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ νεὼς κυβερνήτης ἀνέμου κατιόντος ἐν πελάγει θέμενος εὖ πάντα καὶ κατατείνας τὰ ὅπλα χρῆται τῇ τέχνῃ, δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις ἐπιβατῶν ναυτιώντων καὶ φοβουμένων ἐάσας, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος, τό τε ἄστυ συγκλείσας καὶ καταλαβὼν πάντα φυλακαῖς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ἐχρῆτο τοῖς αὑτοῦ λογισμοῖς, βραχέα φροντίζων
6 τῶν καταβοώντων καὶ δυσχεραινόντων. καίτοι πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων δεόμενοι προσέκειντο, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ κατηγοροῦντες, χοροὶ[1] δ' ἦδον ἄσματα καὶ σκώμματα πρὸς αἰσχύνην, ἐφυβρίζοντες αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὡς ἄνανδρον καὶ προϊεμένην τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπεφύετο δὲ καὶ Κλέων ἤδη, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀργῆς τῶν
7 πολιτῶν πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν δημαγωγίαν, ὡς τἀνάπαιστα ταῦτα δηλοῖ ποιήσαντος Ἑρμίππου·

> Βασιλεῦ σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις
> δόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν
> περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινοὺς παρέχεις,[2]
> ψυχὴ δὲ Τέλητος ὕπεστιν;[3]

[1] χοροὶ Fuhr and Blass, with F^2S: πολλοί.
[2] παρέχεις Fuhr, with S: παρέχῃ.
[3] ψυχὴ . . . ὕπεστιν Fuhr and Blass, after Emperius: ψυχὴν . . . ὑπέστης.

(those who made the first invasion were as numerous as that), and stake the city itself upon the issue. So he tried to calm down those who were eager to fight, and who were in distress at what the enemy was doing, by saying that trees, though cut and lopped, grew quickly, but if men were destroyed it was not easy to get them again. And he would not call the people together into an assembly, fearing that he would be constrained against his better judgement, but, like the helmsman of a ship, who, when a stormy wind swoops down upon it in the open sea, makes all fast, takes in sail, and exercises his skill, disregarding the tears and entreaties of the sea-sick and timorous passengers, so he shut the city up tight, put all parts of it under safe garrison, and exercised his own judgement, little heeding the brawlers and malcontents. And yet many of his friends beset him with entreaties, and many of his enemies with threats and denunciations, and choruses sang songs of scurrilous mockery, railing at his generalship for its cowardice, and its abandonment of everything to the enemy. Cleon, too, was already harassing him, taking advantage of the wrath with which the citizens regarded him to make his own way toward the leadership of the people, as these anapaestic verses of Hermippus[1] show :—

"Thou king of the Satyrs, why pray wilt thou not
Take the spear for thy weapon, and stop the dire talk
With the which, until now, thou conductest the war,
While the soul of a Teles is in thee?

[1] From his "Moirai," or *Fates*. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. pp. 236 f.

κἀγχειριδίου δ' ἀκόνῃ σκληρᾷ
παραθηγομένης βρύχεις κοπίδος,[1]
δηχθεὶς αἴθωνι Κλέωνι.

XXXIV. Πλὴν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκινήθη τῶν τοιούτων ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ πράως καὶ σιωπῇ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ὑφιστάμενος, καὶ νεῶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον στόλον ἐκπέμπων αὐτὸς οὐ συνεξέπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν οἰκουρῶν καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἕως ἀπηλλάγησαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὅμως ἀσχάλλοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, διανομαῖς τε χρημάτων ἀνελάμβανε καὶ κληρουχίας ἔγραφεν· Αἰγινήτας γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἅπαντας διένειμε τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναίων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν. ἦν δέ τις
2 παρηγορία καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔπασχον οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον χώραν τε πολλὴν κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις μικρὰς διεπόρθησαν, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἔφθειρε πᾶσαν. ᾗ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι 17
πολλὰ μὲν δρῶντες κατὰ γῆν κακὰ[2] τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολλὰ δὲ πάσχοντες ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐκ θαλάττης, οὐκ ἂν εἰς μῆκος πολέμου τοσοῦτον προὔβησαν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀπεῖπον, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Περικλῆς προηγόρευσεν, εἰ μή τι δαιμόνιον ὑπηναντιώθη τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς.
3 Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λοιμώδης ἐνέπεσε φθορὰ καὶ κατενεμήθη τὴν ἀκμάζουσαν ἡλικίαν καὶ δύναμιν· ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τὰ σώματα κακούμενοι καὶ

[1] *κἀγχειριδίου . . . κοπίδος* Coraës' restoration of these corrupt verses, adopted by Fuhr.

[2] *κατὰ γῆν κακὰ* Fuhr and Blass, with F[a]S : *κακά*.

If the tiniest knife is but laid on the stone
To give it an edge, thou gnashest thy teeth,
As if bitten by fiery Cleon."

XXXIV. However, Pericles was moved by no such things, but gently and silently underwent the ignominy and the hatred, and, sending out an armament of a hundred ships against the Peloponnesus, did not himself sail with it, but remained behind, keeping the city under watch and ward and well in hand, until the Peloponnesians withdrew. Then, by way of soothing the multitude, who, in spite of their enemies' departure, were distressed over the war, he won their favour by distributions of moneys and proposed allotments of conquered lands; the Aeginetans, for instance, he drove out entirely, and parcelled out their island among the Athenians by lot. And some consolation was to be had from what their enemies suffered. For the expedition around the Peloponnesus ravaged much territory and sacked villages and small cities, while Pericles himself, by land, invaded the Megarid and razed it all. Wherein also it was evident that though their enemies did the Athenians much harm by land, they suffered much too at their hands by sea, and therefore would not have protracted the war to such a length, but would have speedily given up, just as Pericles prophesied in the beginning, had not a terrible visitation from heaven thwarted human calculations.

As it was, in the first place, a pestilential destruction fell upon them [1] and devoured clean the prime of their youth and power. It weakened

[1] 430 B.C. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 47–54.

τὰς ψυχὰς παντάπασιν ἠγριώθησαν πρὸς τὸν Περικλέα, καὶ καθάπερ ἰατρὸν ἢ πατέρα τῇ νόσῳ παραφρονήσαντες ἀδικεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς τὴν μὲν νόσον ἡ τοῦ χωριτικοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸ ἄστυ συμφόρησις
4 ἀπεργάζεται,[1] θέρους ὥρᾳ πολλῶν ὁμοῦ χύδην ἐν οἰκήμασι μικροῖς καὶ σκηνώμασι πνιγηροῖς ἠναγκασμένων διαιτᾶσθαι δίαιταν οἰκουρὸν καὶ ἀργὴν ἀντὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης τῆς πρότερον, τούτου δ' αἴτιος ὁ τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὰ τείχη καταχεάμενος καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις τοσούτοις χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ἐῶν ὥσπερ βοσκήματα καθειργμένους ἀναπίμπλασθαι φθορᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ μηδεμίαν μεταβολὴν μηδ' ἀναψυχὴν ἐκπορίζων.

XXXV. Ταῦτα βουλόμενος ἰᾶσθαι καί τι παραλυπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ἐπλήρου, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας ἀναβιβασάμενος ἔμελλεν ἀνάγεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐλπίδα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ φόβον οὐκ ἐλάττω τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τοσαύτης ἰσχύος παρασχών. ἤδη δὲ πεπληρωμένων τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ Περι-
2 κλέους ἀναβεβηκότος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκλιπεῖν συνέβη καὶ γενέσθαι σκότος, ἐκπλαγῆναι δὲ πάντας ὡς πρὸς μέγα σημεῖον. ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς περίφοβον τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ διηπορημένον, ἀνέσχε τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸ τῶν

[1] ἀπεργάζεται Fuhr and Blass, with $F^{a}S$: ἐργάζεται.

them in body and in spirit, and made them altogether wild against Pericles, so that, for all the world as the mad will attack a physician or a father, so they, in the delirium of the plague, attempted to do him harm, persuaded thereto by his enemies. These urged that the plague was caused by the crowding of the rustic multitudes together into the city, where, in the summer season, many were huddled together in small dwellings and stifling barracks, and compelled to lead a stay-at-home and inactive life, instead of being in the pure and open air of heaven as they were wont. They said that Pericles was responsible for this, who, because of the war, had poured the rabble from the country into the walled city, and then gave that mass of men no employment whatever, but suffered them, thus penned up like cattle, to fill one another full of corruption, and provided them no change or respite.

XXXV. Desiring to heal these evils, and at the same time to inflict some annoyance upon the enemy, he manned a hundred and fifty ships of war, and, after embarking many brave hoplites and horsemen, was on the point of putting out to sea, affording great hope to the citizens, and no less fear to the enemy in consequence of so great a force. But when the ships were already manned, and Pericles had gone aboard his own trireme, it chanced that the sun was eclipsed and darkness came on, and all were thoroughly frightened, looking upon it as a great portent. Accordingly, seeing that his steersman was timorous and utterly perplexed, Pericles held up his cloak before the

ὄψεων[1] αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρακαλύψας ἠρώτησε μή τι δεινὸν ἢ δεινοῦ τινος οἴεται σημεῖον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔφη, "Τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖνο τούτου διαφέρει, πλὴν ὅτι μεῖζόν τι τῆς χλαμύδος ἐστὶ τὸ πεποιηκὸς τὴν ἐπισκότησιν;" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς λέγεται τῶν φιλοσόφων.

3 Ἐκπλεύσας δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὔτ' ἄλλο τι δοκεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον δρᾶσαι, πολιορκήσας τε τὴν ἱερὰν Ἐπίδαυρον ἐλπίδα παρασχοῦσαν ὡς ἁλωσομένην ἀπέτυχε διὰ τὴν νόσον. ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ οὐκ αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμμίξαντας προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς διακειμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς αὐτὸν
4 ἐπειρᾶτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνειν. οὐ μὴν παρέλυσε τὴν ὀργὴν οὐδὲ μετέπεισε πρότερον ἢ τὰς ψήφους λαβόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ γενομένους κυρίους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ ζημιῶσαι χρήμασιν, ὧν ἀριθμὸν οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα, πεντήκοντα δ' οἱ τὸν πλεῖστον γράφουσιν. ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ δίκῃ κατήγορος, ὡς μὲν Ἰδομενεὺς λέγει, Κλέων, ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος, Σιμμίας· ὁ δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης Λακρατίδαν εἴρηκε.

XXXVI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δημόσια ταχέως ἔμελλε παύσεσθαι,[2] καθάπερ κέντρον εἰς τοῦτον ἅμα πληγῇ τὸν θυμὸν ἀφεικότων τῶν πολλῶν· τὰ δ' οἰκεῖα μοχθηρῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ κατά τε τὸν λοιμὸν

[1] *τῶν ὄψεων* Fuhr and Blass, with F[a]S: *τῆς ὄψεως*.
[2] *παύσεσθαι* Fuhr and Blass, with F[a]S, and after Reiske: *παύεσθαι*.

man's eyes, and, thus covering them, asked him if he thought it anything dreadful, or portentous of anything dreadful. "No," said the steersman. "How then," said Pericles, "is yonder event different from this, except that it is something rather larger than my cloak which has caused the obscurity?" At any rate, this tale is told in the schools of philosophy.

Well, then, on sailing forth, Pericles seems to have accomplished nothing worthy of his preparations, but after laying siege to sacred Epidaurus, which awakened a hope that it might be captured, he had no such good fortune, because of the plague. Its fierce onset destroyed not only the Athenians themselves, but also those who, in any manner soever, had dealings with their forces. The Athenians being exasperated against him on this account, he tried to appease and encourage them. He did not, however, succeed in allaying their wrath, nor yet in changing their purposes, before they got their hostile ballots into their hands, became masters of his fate, stripped him of his command, and punished him with a fine. The amount of this was fifteen talents, according to those who give the lowest, and fifty, according to those who give the highest figures. The public prosecutor mentioned in the records of the case was Cleon, as Idomeneus says, but according to Theophrastus it was Simmias, and Heracleides Ponticus mentions Lacratides.

XXXVI. So much, then, for his public troubles; they were likely soon to cease, now that the multitude had stung him, as it were, and left their passion with their sting; but his domestic affairs were in a

οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀποβαλόντι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ στάσει διατεταραγμένα[1] πόρρωθεν. ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν γνησίων υἱῶν Ξάνθιππος φύσει τε δαπανηρὸς ὢν καὶ γυναικὶ νέᾳ καὶ πολυτελεῖ συνοικῶν, Τισάνδρου θυγατρὶ τοῦ Ἐπιλύκου, χαλεπῶς ἔφερε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκρίβειαν γλί-
2 σχρα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ χορηγοῦντος. πέμψας 172
οὖν πρός τινα τῶν φίλων ἔλαβεν ἀργύριον ὡς τοῦ Περικλέους κελεύσαντος. ἐκείνου δ' ὕστερον ἀπαιτοῦντος, ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς καὶ δίκην αὐτῷ προσέλαχε, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ὁ Ξάνθιππος ἐπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπῶς διατεθεὶς ἐλοιδόρει τὸν πατέρα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκφέρων ἐπὶ γέλωτι τὰς οἴκοι διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐποιεῖτο[2] μετὰ τῶν
3 σοφιστῶν. πεντάθλου γάρ τινος ἀκοντίῳ πατάξαντος Ἐπίτιμον τὸν Φαρσάλιον ἀκουσίως καὶ κατακτείναντος, ἡμέραν ὅλην ἀναλῶσαι μετὰ Πρωταγόρου διαποροῦντα πότερον τὸ ἀκόντιον ἢ τὸν βαλόντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας κατὰ τὸν ὀρθότατον λόγον αἰτίους χρὴ τοῦ πάθους ἡγεῖσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς διαβολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξανθίππου φησὶν ὁ Στησίμβροτος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διασπαρῆναι, καὶ ὅλως ἀνήκεστον ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τῷ νεανίσκῳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα παραμεῖναι τὴν διαφοράν· ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὁ Ξάνθιππος ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ νοσήσας.
4 Ἀπέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὁ Περικλῆς τότε καὶ τῶν κηδεστῶν καὶ φίλων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ

[1] διατεταραγμένα Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διατεταραγμένῳ.

[2] ἐποιεῖτο Fuhr and Blass, with F^aS, and after Sauppe: ἐποίει.

sorry plight, since he had lost not a few of his intimate friends during the pestilence, and had for some time been rent and torn by a family feud. The eldest of his legitimate sons, Xanthippus, who was naturally prodigal, and had married a young and extravagant wife, the daughter of Tisander, the son of Epilycus, was much displeased at his father's exactitude in making him but a meagre allowance, and that a little at a time. Accordingly, he sent to one of his father's friends and got money, pretending that Pericles bade him do it. When the friend afterwards demanded repayment of the loan, Pericles not only refused it, but brought suit against him to boot. So the young fellow, Xanthippus, incensed at this, fell to abusing his father, publishing abroad, to make men laugh, his conduct of affairs at home, and the discourses which he held with the sophists. For instance, a certain athlete had hit Epitimus the Pharsalian with a javelin, accidentally, and killed him, and Pericles, Xanthippus said, squandered an entire day discussing with Protagoras whether it was the javelin, or rather the one who hurled it, or the judges of the contests, that "in the strictest sense" ought to be held responsible for the disaster. Besides all this, the slanderous charge concerning his own wife Stesimbrotus says was sown abroad in public by Xanthippus himself, and also that the quarrel which the young man had with his father remained utterly incurable up to the time of his death,—for Xanthippus fell sick and died during the plague.

Pericles lost his sister also at that time, and of his relatives and friends the largest part, and those

χρησιμωτάτους πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ μὴν ἀπεῖπεν οὐδὲ προΐδωκε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κλαίων οὐδὲ κηδεύων οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφῳ τινὸς ὤφθη τῶν ἀναγκαίων, πρίν γε δὴ καὶ τὸν περίλοιπον αὐτοῦ τῶν γνησίων υἱῶν[1] ἀποβαλεῖν Πάραλον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καμφθεὶς ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν ἐγκαρτερεῖν τῷ ἤθει καὶ διαφυλάττειν τὸ μεγαλόψυχον, ἐπιφέρων δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ στέφανον ἡττήθη τοῦ πάθους πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, ὥστε κλαυθμόν τε ῥῆξαι καὶ πλῆθος ἐκχέαι δακρύων, οὐδέποτε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ πεποιηκώς.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως πειρωμένης τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ῥητόρων, ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς βάρος ἔχων ἰσόρροπον οὐδ' ἀξίωμα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἐχέγγυον ἡγεμονίαν ἐφαίνετο, ποθούσης ἐκεῖνον καὶ καλούσης ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον, ἀθυμῶν καὶ κείμενος οἴκοι διὰ τὸ πένθος ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπείσθη φίλων προελθεῖν. ἀπολογησαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑποδεξάμενος αὖθις τὰ πράγματα καὶ στρατηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς ᾐτήσατο λυθῆναι τὸν περὶ τῶν νόθων νόμον, ὃν αὐτὸς εἰσενηνόχει πρότερον, ὡς μὴ παντάπασιν ἐρημίᾳ διαδοχῆς τὸν οἶκον ἐκλίποι τοὔνομα καὶ τὸ γένος.

Εἶχε δ' οὕτω τὰ περὶ τὸν νόμον. ἀκμάζων ὁ

[1] γνησίων υἱῶν Fuhr and Blass, with F[a]S : γνησίων.

who were most serviceable to him in his administration of the city. He did not, however, give up, nor yet abandon his loftiness and grandeur of spirit because of his calamities, nay, he was not even seen to weep, either at the funeral rites, or at the grave of any of his connections, until indeed he lost the very last remaining one of his own legitimate sons, Paralus. Even though he was bowed down at this stroke, he nevertheless tried to persevere in his habit and maintain his spiritual greatness, but as he laid a wreath upon the dead, he was vanquished by his anguish at the sight, so that he broke out into wailing, and shed a multitude of tears, although he had never done any such thing in all his life before.

XXXVII. The city made trial of its other generals and counsellors for the conduct of the war, but since no one appeared to have weight that was adequate or authority that was competent for such leadership, it yearned for Pericles, and summoned him back to the bema and the war-office.[1] He was lying dejectedly at home because of his sorrow, but was persuaded by Alcibiades and his other friends to resume his public life. When the people had apologized for their thankless treatment of him, and he had undertaken again the conduct of the state, and been elected general, he asked for a suspension of the law concerning children born out of wedlock,—a law which he himself had formerly introduced,—in order that the name and lineage of his house might not altogether expire through lack of succession.

The circumstances of this law were as follows.

Περικλῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸ πάνυ πολλῶν χρόνων, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, γνησίους, νόμον ἔγραψε μόνους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυεῖν Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δωρεὰν τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαντος τετρακισμυρίους πυρῶν μεδίμνους ἔδει διανέμεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνεφύοντο δίκαι τοῖς νόθοις ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκείνου τέως διαλανθάνουσι καὶ παρορωμένοις,[1] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συκοφαντήμασι περιέπιπτον. ἐπράθησαν δ' οὖν[2] ἀλόντες ὀλίγῳ πεντακισχιλίων ἐλάττους, οἱ δὲ μείναντες ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κριθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι μύριοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἐξητάσθησαν. ὄντος οὖν δεινοῦ τὸν κατὰ τοσούτων ἰσχύσαντα νόμον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν λυθῆναι τοῦ γράψαντος, ἡ παροῦσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεῖ περὶ τὸν οἶκον, ὡς δίκην τινὰ δεδωκότι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλαυχίας ἐκείνης, ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ δόξαντες αὐτὸν νεμεσητά τε παθεῖν ἀνθρωπίνων[3] τε δεῖσθαι συνεχώρησαν ἀπογράψασθαι τὸν νόθον εἰς τοὺς φράτορας, ὄνομα θέμενον τὸ αὑτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὕστερον ἐν Ἀργινούσαις καταναυμαχήσαντα Πελοποννησίους ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων.

[1] διαλανθάνουσι, παρορωμένοις Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διαλανθάνουσαι, παρορώμεναι (referring to the prosecutions).

[2] δ' οὖν Fuhr and Blass, with F^{a}S: οὖν.

[3] ἀνθρωπίνων Fuhr and Blass, with F^{a}S: ἀνθρωπίνως.

Many years before this,[1] when Pericles was at the height of his political career and had sons born in wedlock, as I have said, he proposed a law that only those should be reckoned Athenians whose parents on both sides were Athenians. And so when the king of Egypt sent a present to the people of forty thousand measures of grain, and this had to be divided up among the citizens, there was a great crop of prosecutions against citizens of illegal birth by the law of Pericles, who had up to that time escaped notice and been overlooked, and many of them also suffered at the hands of informers. As a result, a little less than five thousand were convicted and sold into slavery, and those who retained their citizenship and were adjudged to be Athenians were found, as a result of this scrutiny, to be fourteen thousand and forty in number. It was, accordingly, a grave matter, that the law which had been rigorously enforced against so many should now be suspended by the very man who had introduced it, and yet the calamities which Pericles was then suffering in his family life, regarded as a kind of penalty which he had paid for his arrogance and haughtiness of old, broke down the objections of the Athenians. They thought that what he suffered was by way of retribution, and that what he asked became a man to ask and men to grant, and so they suffered him to enroll his illegitimate son in the phratry-lists and to give him his own name. This was the son who afterwards conquered the Peloponnesians in a naval battle at the Arginusae islands,[2] and was put to death by the people along with his fellow-generals.

[1] 451–450 B.C. [2] 406 B.C.

XXXVIII. Τότε δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἔοικεν ὁ 173
λοιμὸς λαβέσθαι λαβὴν οὐκ ὀξεῖαν, ὥσπερ ἄλλων,
οὐδὲ σύντονον, ἀλλὰ βληχρᾷ τινι νόσῳ καὶ μῆκος
ἐν ποικίλαις ἐχούσῃ μεταβολαῖς διαχρωμένην
τὸ σῶμα σχολαίως καὶ ὑπερείπουσαν τὸ φρόνημα
2 τῆς ψυχῆς. ὁ γοῦν Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Ἠθικοῖς
διαπορήσας εἰ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τρέπεται τὰ ἤθη
καὶ κινούμενα τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων πάθεσιν ἐξί-
σταται τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἱστόρηκεν ὅτι νοσῶν ὁ Πε-
ρικλῆς ἐπισκοπουμένῳ τινὶ τῶν φίλων δείξειε
περίαπτον ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν τῷ τραχήλῳ περι-
ηρτημένον, ὡς σφόδρα κακῶς ἔχων ὁπότε καὶ
ταύτην ὑπομένοι τὴν ἀβελτερίαν.
3 Ἤδη δὲ πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾶν ὄντος αὐτοῦ, περι-
καθήμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ τῶν
φίλων οἱ περιόντες λόγον ἐποιοῦντο τῆς ἀρετῆς
καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅση γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς πράξεις
ἀνεμετροῦντο καὶ τῶν τροπαίων τὸ πλῆθος· ἐννέα
γὰρ ἦν ἃ στρατηγῶν καὶ νικῶν ἔστησεν ὑπὲρ
4 τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτα, ὡς οὐκέτι συνιέντος, ἀλλὰ
καθῃρημένου τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ, διελέγοντο
πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐτύγχανε τὸν νοῦν
προσεσχηκώς, καὶ φθεγξάμενος εἰς μέσον ἔφη
θαυμάζειν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ
μνημονεύουσιν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τύχην ἐστὶ κοινὰ καὶ
γέγονεν ἤδη πολλοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον
καὶ μέγιστον οὐ λέγουσιν. "Οὐδεὶς γάρ," ἔφη,
"δι' ἐμὲ τῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἱμάτιον
περιεβάλετο."

XXXVIII. At this time, it would seem, the plague laid hold of Pericles, not with a violent attack, as in the case of others, nor acute, but one which, with a kind of sluggish distemper that prolonged itself through varying changes, used up his body slowly and undermined the loftiness of his spirit. Certain it is that Theophrastus, in his "Ethics," querying whether one's character follows the bent of one's fortunes and is forced by bodily sufferings to abandon its high excellence, records this fact, that Pericles, as he lay sick, showed one of his friends who was come to see him an amulet that the women had hung round his neck, as much as to say that he was very badly off to put up with such folly as that.

Being now near his end,[1] the best of the citizens and those of his friends who survived were sitting around him holding discourse of his excellence and power, how great they had been, and estimating all his achievements and the number of his trophies,—there were nine of these which he had set up as the city's victorious general. This discourse they were holding with one another, supposing that he no longer understood them but had lost consciouness. He had been attending to it all, however, and speaking out among them said he was amazed at their praising and commemorating that in him which was due as much to fortune as to himself, and which had fallen to the lot of many generals besides, instead of mentioning his fairest and greatest title to their admiration; "for," said he, "no living Athenian ever put on mourning because of me."

[1] He died in the autumn of 429 B.C.

XXXIX. Θαυμαστὸς οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πραότητος, ἣν ἐν πράγμασι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀπεχθείαις διετήρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καλῶν ἡγεῖτο βέλτιστον εἶναι τὸ μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι μηδὲν ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως, μηδὲ
2 χρήσασθαί τινι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς ἀνηκέστῳ. καί μοι δοκεῖ τὴν μειρακιώδη καὶ σοβαρὰν ἐκείνην προσωνυμίαν ἓν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀνεπίφθονον καὶ πρέπουσαν, οὕτως εὐμενὲς ἦθος καὶ βίον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον Ὀλύμπιον προσαγορεύεσθαι, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος ἀξιοῦμεν αἴτιον μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἀναίτιον δὲ κακῶν πεφυκὸς ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν ὄντων, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ συνταράττοντες ἡμᾶς ἀμαθεστάταις
3 δόξαις ἁλίσκονται τοῖς αὐτῶν μυθεύμασι,[1] τὸν μὲν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς θεοὺς κατοικεῖν λέγουσιν, ἀσφαλὲς ἕδος καὶ ἀσάλευτον καλοῦντες, οὐ πνεύμασιν, οὐ νέφεσι χρώμενον, ἀλλ' αἴθρᾳ[2] μαλακῇ καὶ φωτὶ καθαρωτάτῳ[3] τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὁμαλῶς περιλαμπόμενον, ὡς τοιαύτης τινὸς[4] τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ διαγωγῆς μάλιστα πρεπούσης, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ταραχῆς καὶ δυσμενείας καὶ ὀργῆς ἄλλων τε μεστοὺς παθῶν ἀποφαίνοντες οὐδ' ἀνθρώποις νοῦν ἔχουσι προσηκόντων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἑτέρας δόξει
4 πραγματείας εἶναι.

Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ταχεῖαν αἴσθησιν καὶ σαφῆ

[1] μυθεύμασι Fuhr and Blass with S (μηθεύμασι F^a): ποιήμασι.

[2] αἴθρᾳ Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: αἰθρίᾳ.

[3] καθαρωτάτῳ Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: καθαρῷ.

[4] τοιαύτης τινὸς Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: τοιαύτης.

XXXIX. So, then, the man is to be admired not only for his reasonableness and the gentleness which he maintained in the midst of many responsibilities and great enmities, but also for his loftiness of spirit, seeing that he regarded it as the noblest of all his titles to honour that he had never gratified his envy or his passion in the exercise of his vast power, nor treated any one of his foes as a foe incurable. And it seems to me that his otherwise puerile and pompous surname is rendered unobjectionable and becoming by this one circumstance, that it was so gracious a nature and a life so pure and undefiled in the exercise of sovereign power which were called Olympian, inasmuch as we do firmly hold that the divine rulers and kings of the universe are capable only of good, and incapable of evil. In this we are not like the poets, who confuse us with their ignorant fancies, and are convicted of inconsistency by their own stories, since they declare that the place where they say the gods dwell is a secure abode and tranquil, without experience of winds and clouds, but gleaming through all the unbroken time with the soft radiance of purest light,[1]—implying that some such a manner of existence is most becoming to the blessed immortal; and yet they represent the gods themselves as full of malice and hatred and wrath and other passions which ill become even men of any sense. But this, perhaps, will be thought matter for discussion elsewhere.

The progress of events wrought in the Athenians

[1] Cf. *Odyssey*, vi. 42 ff.

πόθον Ἀθηναίοις ἐνειργάζετο τὰ πράγματα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ζῶντος βαρυνόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ὡς ἀμαυροῦσαν αὐτούς, εὐθὺς ἐκ ποδῶν γενομένου πειρώμενοι ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ἑτέρων ἀνωμολογοῦντο μετριώτερον ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν πραότητι μὴ φῦναι τρόπον· ἡ δ' ἐπίφθονος ἰσχὺς ἐκείνη, μοναρχία λεγομένη καὶ τυραννὶς πρότερον, ἐφάνη τότε σωτήριον ἔρυμα τῆς πολιτείας γενομένη· τοσαύτη φθορὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἐπέκειτο κακίας τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀσθενῆ καὶ ταπεινὴν ποιῶν ἀπέκρυπτε καὶ κατεκώλυεν ἀνήκεστον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ[1] γενέσθαι.

[1] ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ Fuhr and Blass with $F^{a}SC$: ἐξουσίᾳ.

a swift appreciation of Pericles and a keen sense of his loss. For those who, while he lived, were oppressed by a sense of his power and felt that it kept them in obscurity, straightway on his removal made trial of other orators and popular leaders, only to be led to the confession that a character more moderate than his in its solemn dignity, and more august in its gentleness, had not been created. That objectionable power of his, which they had used to call monarchy and tyranny, seemed to them now to have been a saving bulwark of the constitution, so greatly was the state afflicted by the corruption and manifold baseness which he had kept weak and grovelling, thereby covering it out of sight and preventing it from becoming incurably powerful.

FABIUS MAXIMUS

ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ

I. Τοιούτου δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐν τοῖς ἀξίοις 174
μνήμης γεγονότος, ὡς παρειλήφαμεν, ἐπὶ τὸν
Φάβιον τὴν ἱστορίαν μεταγάγωμεν. νυμφῶν μιᾶς
λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας, Ἡρακλεῖ
μιγείσης περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν γενέσθαι
Φάβιον, ἄνδρα πολὺ καὶ δόκιμον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ
2 Φαβίων γένος ἀφ' αὑτοῦ παρασχόντα. τινὲς δὲ
τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τούτου πρώτους τῇ δι' ὀρυ-
γμάτων χρησαμένους ἄγρᾳ Φοδίους ἱστοροῦσιν
ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸ παλαιόν· οὕτω γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν αἱ
διώρυχες φόσσαι καὶ φόδερε τὸ σκάψαι καλεῖται·
χρόνῳ δὲ τῶν δυεῖν φθόγγων μεταπεσόντων
Φάβιοι προσηγορεύθησαν. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγά-
λους τῆς οἰκίας ἐξενεγκαμένης ἄνδρας, ἀπὸ Ῥούλ-
λου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μαξίμου παρὰ
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπονομασθέντος τέταρτος ἦν Φάβιος
Μάξιμος, περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφομεν.
3 Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ σωματικὸν μὲν παρωνύμιον ὁ
Βερούκωσος· εἶχε γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνα μικρὰν
ἐπάνω τοῦ χείλους ἐπιπεφυκυῖαν· ὁ δὲ Ὀουι-
κούλας σημαίνει μὲν τὸ προβάτιον, ἐτέθη δὲ πρὸς
τὴν πραότητα καὶ βαρύτητα[1] τοῦ ἤθους ἔτι παιδὸς
ὄντος. τὸ γὰρ ἡσύχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σιωπηλὸν καὶ

[1] *βαρύτητα* MSS., Sint.[1], Coraës, and Bekker: *βραδυτῆτα slowness.*

FABIUS MAXIMUS

I. Such were the memorable things in the career of Pericles, as we have received them, and now let us change the course of our narrative and tell of Fabius. It was a nymph, they say, or a woman native to the country, according to others, who consorted with Hercules by the river Tiber, and became by him the mother of Fabius, the founder of the family of the Fabii, which was a large one, and of high repute in Rome. But some writers state that the first members of the family were called Fodii in ancient times, from their practice of taking wild beasts in pitfalls. For down to the present time "fossae" is the Latin for *ditches*, and "fodere" for *to dig*. In course of time, by a change of two letters, they were called Fabii. This family produced many great men, and from Rullus, the greatest of them, and on this account called Maximus by the Romans, the Fabius Maximus of whom we now write was fourth in descent.

He had the surname of Verrucosus from a physical peculiarity, namely, a small wart growing above his lip; and that of Ovicula, which signifies *Lambkin*, was given him because of the gentleness and gravity of his nature when he was yet a child. Indeed, the calmness and silence of his demeanour,

μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας τῶν παιδικῶν ἁπτόμενον ἡδονῶν, βραδέως δὲ καὶ διαπόνως δεχόμενον τὰς μαθήσεις, εὔκολον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ κατήκοον ἀβελτερίας τινὸς καὶ νωθρότητος ὑπόνοιαν εἶχε παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτός· ὀλίγοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ τὸ δυσκίνητον ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ
4 λεοντῶδες ἐν τῇ φύσει καθορῶντες αὐτοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγειρόμενος διεσήμαινε καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπάθειαν μὲν οὖσαν τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀπραγίαν, εὐβουλίαν δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ὀξὺ μηδ' εὐκίνητον ἐν πᾶσι μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ πλῆθος, ἤσκει τὸ μὲν σῶμα πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, ὥσπερ ὅπλον σύμφυτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον ὄργανον πειθοῦς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, εὖ μάλα πρε-
5 πόντως τῷ βίῳ κατακεκοσμημένον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπῆν ὡραϊσμὸς οὐδὲ κενὴ καὶ ἀγοραῖος χάρις, ἀλλὰ νοῦς ἴδιον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχῆμα καὶ βάθος ἔχων, ἃς μάλιστα ταῖς Θουκυδίδου προσεοικέναι λέγουσι. διασώζεται γὰρ αὐτοῦ λόγος, ὃν εἶπεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ μεθ' ὑπατείαν ἀποθανόντος ἐγκώμιον.

II. Πέντε δ' ὑπατειῶν ἃς ὑπάτευσεν, ἡ πρώτη τὸν ἀπὸ Λιγύων θρίαμβον ἔσχεν. ἡττηθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες εἰς τὰς Ἄλπεις ἀνεστάλησαν, καὶ τὴν πρόσοικον ἐπαύσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ληϊζόμενοι καὶ κακῶς
2 ποιοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν

the great caution with which he indulged in childish pleasures, the slowness and difficulty with which he learned his lessons, and his contented submissiveness in dealing with his comrades, led those who knew him superficially to suspect him of something like foolishness and stupidity. Only a few discerned the inexorable firmness in the depth of his soul, and the magnanimous and leonine qualities of his nature. But soon, as time went on and he was roused by the demands of active life, he made it clear even to the multitude that his seeming lack of energy was only lack of passion, that his caution was prudence, and that his never being quick nor even easy to move made him always steadfast and sure. He saw that the conduct of the state was a great task, and that wars must be many; he therefore trained his body for the wars (nature's own armour, as it were), and his speech as an instrument of persuasion with the people, giving it a form right well befitting his manner of life. For it had no affectation, nor any empty, forensic grace, but an import of peculiar dignity, rendered weighty by an abundance of maxims. These, they say, most resembled those which Thucydides employs. And a speech of his is actually preserved, which was pronounced by him before the people in eulogy of his son,[1] who died consul.

II. The first[2] of the five consulships in which he served brought him the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. These were defeated by him in battle, with heavy loss, and retired into the Alps, where they ceased plundering and harrying the parts of Italy next to them. But Hannibal now

[1] Cf. Cicero, *Cato Maior*, 4. [2] 233 B.C.

καὶ μάχῃ πρῶτον περὶ τὸν Τρεβίαν ποταμὸν ἐπικρατήσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἤλαυνε διὰ Τυρρηνίας πορθῶν τὴν χώραν, ἔκπληξιν δὲ δεινὴν καὶ φόβον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνέβαλε, σημεῖα δὲ τὰ μὲν συνήθη Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν, τὰ δ' ὅλως ἐξηλλαγμένα
3 καὶ πολλὴν ἀτοπίαν ἔχοντα προσέπιπτε (θυρεούς τε γὰρ ἀφ' αὑτῶν αἵματι γενέσθαι διαβρόχους ἐλέχθη, καὶ θέρη σταχύων περὶ Ἄντιον ἔναιμα κείρεσθαι, καὶ λίθους μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος διαπύρους καὶ φλεγομένους φέρεσθαι, τοῦ δ' ὑπὲρ Φαλερίους οὐρανοῦ ῥαγῆναι δόξαντος ἐκπίπτειν καὶ διασπείρεσθαι πολλὰ γράμματεῖα, καὶ τούτων ἐν ἑνὶ γεγραμμένον φανῆναι κατὰ λέξιν· "Ἄρης τὰ 175
4 ἑαυτοῦ ὅπλα σαλεύει"), τὸν μὲν ὕπατον Γάϊον Φλαμίνιον οὐδὲν ἤμβλυνε τούτων, ἄνδρα πρὸς τῷ φύσει θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλοτίμῳ μεγάλαις ἐπαιρόμενον εὐτυχίαις, ἃς πρόσθεν εὐτύχησε παραλόγως, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπᾳδούσης[1] καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐνισταμένου βίᾳ συμβαλὼν τοῖς Γαλάταις καὶ κρατήσας, Φάβιον δὲ τὰ μὲν σημεῖα, καίπερ ἀπτόμενα πολλῶν, ἧττον ὑπέθραττε διὰ
5 τὴν ἀλογίαν· τὴν δ' ὀλιγότητα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἀχρηματίαν πυνθανόμενος καρτερεῖν παρεκάλει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἠσκημένῃ στρατιᾷ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπιπέμποντας βοηθείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας αὐτὴν ἐᾶν περὶ αὐτῇ μαραίνεσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καθάπερ φλόγα λάμψασαν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ κούφης δυνάμεως.

[1] ἀπᾳδούσης with CS: ἀποκαλούσης.

burst into Italy,[1] and was at first victorious in battle at the river Trebia. Then he marched through Tuscany, ravaging the country, and smote Rome with dire consternation and fear. Signs and portents occurred, some familiar to the Romans, like peals of thunder, others wholly strange and quite extraordinary. For instance, it was said that shields sweated blood, that ears of corn were cut at Antium with blood upon them, that blazing, fiery stones fell from on high, and that the people of Falerii saw the heavens open and many tablets fall down and scatter themselves abroad, and that on one of these was written in letters plain to see, "Mars now brandisheth his weapons."[2] The consul, Gaius Flaminius, was daunted by none of these things, for he was a man of a fiery and ambitious nature, and besides, he was elated by great successes which he had won before this, in a manner contrary to all expectation. He had, namely, although the senate dissented from his plan, and his colleague violently opposed it, joined battle with the Gauls and defeated them. Fabius also was less disturbed by the signs and portents, because he thought it would be absurd, although they had great effect upon many. But when he learned how few in number the enemy were, and how great was their lack of resources, he exhorted the Romans to bide their time, and not to give battle to a man who wielded an army trained by many contests for this very issue, but to send aid to their allies, to keep their subject cities well in hand, and to suffer the culminating vigour of Hannibal to sink and expire of itself, like a flame that flares up from scant and slight material.

[1] 218 B.C. [2] Mauors telum suum concutit (Livy, xxii. 1).

III. Οὐ μὴν ἔπεισε τὸν Φλαμίνιον, ἀλλὰ φήσας οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι προσιόντα τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν πόλεμον οὐδ', ὥσπερ ὁ παλαιὸς Κάμιλλος, ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμαχεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς χιλιάρχους, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἁλλόμενος ἐξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίου προδήλου παραλόγως ἐντρόμου τοῦ ἵππου γενομένου καὶ πτυρέντος ἐξέπεσε καὶ κατενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὅμως οὐδὲν ἔτρεψε τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλ' ὡς ὥρμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Θρασυμένην[1] λίμνην τῆς Τυρρηνίας παρετάξατο.

2 Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν συμβαλόντων εἰς χεῖρας ἅμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πόλεις ἀνετράπησαν καὶ ῥεύματα ποταμῶν ἐξ ἕδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημνῶν ὑπώρειαι περιερράγησαν.[2] ἀλλά, καίπερ οὕτω γενομένου βιαίου τοῦ πάθους,[3] οὐδεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἠσθετο
3 τῶν μαχομένων. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Φλαμίνιος πολλὰ καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ ῥώμης ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔπεσε, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ κράτιστοι· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τραπέντων πολὺς ἦν φόνος, καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι πρὸς μυρίοις κατεκόπησαν, καὶ ἑάλωσαν ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι. τὸ δὲ Φλαμινίου σῶμα φιλοτιμούμενος θάψαι καὶ κοσμῆσαι δι' ἀρετὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐχ εὗρεν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἀλλ' ἠγνοεῖτο τὸ παράπαν ὅπως ἠφανίσθη.

4 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρεβίου γενομένην ἧτταν

[1] Θρασυμένην an early anonymous correction, adopted by Coraës and Bekker: Θρασυνίαν.

[2] περιερράγησαν Bekker's παρερράγησαν is now found in S.

[3] τοῦ πάθους Coraes and Bekker after Reiske: πάθους.

III. Flaminius, however, was not persuaded, but declared that he would not suffer the war to be brought near Rome, and that he would not, like Camillus of old, fight in the city for the city's defence. Accordingly, he ordered the tribunes to lead the army forth. But as Flaminius himself sprang upon his horse, for no apparent reason, and unaccountably, the animal was seized with quivering fright, and he was thrown and fell head foremost to the ground. Nevertheless, he in no wise desisted from his purpose, but since he had set out at the beginning to face Hannibal, drew up his forces near the lake called Thrasymené,[1] in Tuscany.

When the soldiers of both armies had engaged, at the very crisis of the battle, an earthquake occurred, by which cities were overthrown, rivers diverted from their channels, and fragments of cliffs torn away. And yet, although the disaster was so violent, no one of the combatants noticed it at all. Flaminius himself, then, while displaying many deeds of daring and prowess, fell, and round about him the flower of his army. The rest were routed with much slaughter. Fifteen thousand were cut to pieces, and as many more taken prisoners. The body of Flaminius, to which Hannibal was eager to give honourable burial because of his valour, could not be found among the dead, but disappeared, no one ever knowing how.

Now of the defeat sustained at the Trebia,[2] neither

[1] Tarsimene, Polybius, iii. 82; Trasimenus, Livy, xxii. 4.
[2] Cf. chapter ii. 2.

οὔθ' ὁ γράψας στρατηγὸς οὔθ' ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἄγγελος ἀπ' εὐθείας ἔφρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐψεύσατο τὴν νίκην ἐπίδικον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀμφίδοξον γενέσθαι· περὶ δὲ ταύτης ὡς πρῶτον ἤκουσεν ὁ στρατηγὸς Πομπώνιος, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον οὐ περιπλοκὰς οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἔφη προσελθών· "Νενικήμεθα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγάλῃ μάχῃ, καὶ διέφθαρται τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὕπατος ἀπόλωλεν. ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθε περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας." οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ πνεῦμα τὸν λόγον ἐμβαλὼν εἰς πέλαγος τοσούτου δήμου συνετάραξε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' ἑστάναι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἔκπληξιν οἱ λογισμοὶ καὶ διαμένειν ἐδύναντο. πάντες δ' εἰς μίαν γνώμην συνήχθησαν ἀνυπευθύνου δεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα μοναρχίας, ἣν δικτατορίαν καλοῦσι, καὶ τοῦ μεταχειριουμένου ταύτην ἀθρύπτως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἀνδρός· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον ἕνα Φάβιον Μάξιμον, ἰσόρροπον ἔχοντα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἤθους, ἡλικίας τε κατὰ τοῦτο γεγενημένον ἐν ᾧ συνέστηκεν ἔτι πρὸς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλεύματα τὸ σῶμα τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ συγκέκραται τῷ φρονίμῳ τὸ θαρραλέον.

IV. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔδοξεν, ἀποδειχθεὶς δικτάτωρ Φάβιος, καὶ ἀποδείξας αὐτὸς ἵππαρχον Μάρκον Μινούκιον, πρῶτον μὲν ᾐτήσατο τὴν σύγκλητον ἵππῳ χρῆσθαι παρὰ τὰς στρατείας. οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγόρευτο κατὰ δή τινα νόμον παλαιόν, εἴτε τῆς ἀλκῆς τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τῷ

the general who wrote nor the messenger who was sent with the tidings gave a straightforward account, the victory being falsely declared uncertain and doubtful; but as soon as Pomponius the praetor heard of this second defeat, he called an assembly of the people, faced it, and without roundabout or deceptive phrases, but in downright fashion, said: "Men of Rome, we have been beaten in a great battle; our army has been cut to pieces; our consul, Flaminius, is dead. Take ye therefore counsel for your own salvation and safety." This speech of his fell like a tempest upon the great sea of people before him, and threw the city into commotion, nor could deliberate reasoning hold its own and stay the general consternation. But all were brought at last to be of one mind, namely, that the situation demanded a sole and absolute authority, which they call a dictatorship, and a man who would wield this authority with energy and without fear; that Fabius Maximus, and he alone, was such a man, having a spirit and a dignity of character that fully matched the greatness of the office, and being moreover at the time of life when bodily vigour still suffices to carry out the counsels of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

IV. Accordingly, this course was adopted, and Fabius was appointed dictator.[1] He himself appointed Marcus Minucius to be his Master of Horse, and then at once asked permission of the senate to use a horse himself when in the field. For this was not his right, but was forbidden by an ancient law, either because the Romans placed their greatest

[1] In the absence of a consul, who alone could appoint a dictator, the people made Fabius pro-dictator (Livy, xxii. 8).

πεζῷ τιθεμένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν στρατηγὸν οἰομένων δεῖν παραμένειν τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ μὴ προλείπειν, εἰθ', ὅτι τυραννικὸν εἰς ἅπαντα τἆλλα 176
καὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἐστίν, ἔν γε τούτῳ βουλομένων τὸν δικτάτορα τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι
2 δεόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φάβιος εὐθὺς ἐνδείξασθαι θέλων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ὡς μᾶλλον ὑπηκόοις χρῷτο καὶ πειθηνίοις τοῖς πολίταις, προῆλθε συνενεγκάμενος εἰς ταὐτὸ ῥαβδουχίας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας· καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαντῶντος αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπηρέτην πέμψας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποθέμενον ἰδιώτην ἀπαντᾶν.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλλίστην ἀρχόμενος ἐκ θεῶν ἀρχήν, καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δῆμον ὡς ὀλιγωρίᾳ καὶ περιφρονήσει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, οὐ μοχθηρίᾳ τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων σφαλέντα, προὔτρεπε μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν, οὐ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐνεργαζόμενος,[1] ἀλλὰ θαρρύνων εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίσι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβον ἀφαιρῶν καὶ παραμυθούμενος.
4 ἐκινήθησαν δὲ τότε πολλαὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ χρησίμων αὐτοῖς βίβλων, ἃς Σιβυλλείους καλοῦσι· καὶ λέγεται συνδραμεῖν ἔνια τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν αὐταῖς λογίων πρὸς τὰς τύχας καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν γνωσθὲν οὐκ ἦν ἑτέρῳ πυθέσθαι· προελθὼν δὲ ὁ δικτάτωρ εἰς τὸν

[1] *ἐνεργαζόμενος* Coraës and Bekker after Bryan, now with S: *ἐργαζόμενος*.

strength in their infantry, and for this reason thought that their commander ought to be with the phalanx and not leave it; or because they wished, since the power of the office in all other respects is as great as that of a tyrant, that in this point at least the dictator should be plainly dependent on the people. However, Fabius himself was minded to show forth at once the magnitude and grandeur of his office, that the citizens might be more submissive and obedient to his commands. He therefore appeared in public attended by a united band of twenty-four lictors with their fasces,[1] and when the remaining consul was coming to meet him, sent his adjutant to him with orders to dismiss his lictors, lay aside the insignia of his office, and meet him as a private person.

After this, he began with the gods, which is the fairest of all beginnings, and showed the people that the recent disaster was due to the neglect and scorn with which their general had treated religious rites, and not to the cowardice of those who fought under him. He thus induced them, instead of fearing their enemies, to propitiate and honour the gods. It was not that he filled them with superstition, but rather that he emboldened their valour with piety, allaying and removing the fear which their enemies inspired, with hopes of aid from the gods. At this time, moreover, many of the so-called Sibylline books, containing secrets of service to the state, were consulted, and it is said that some of the oracular sayings therein preserved corresponded with the fortunes and events of the time. What was thus ascertained, however, could not be made public, but

[1] Each consul was allowed twelve.

ὄχλον εὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν αἰγῶν καὶ συῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν ἐπιγονήν, ὅσην Ἰταλίας ἔρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ λειμῶνες εἰς ὥραν ἐσομένην θρέψουσι, καταθύσειν ἅπαντα, θέας δὲ μουσικὰς καὶ θυμελικὰς ἄξειν ἀπὸ σηστερτίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν καὶ δηναρίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν ἔτι τριτη-
5 μορίου προσόντος. τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ὀκτὼ μυριάδες δραχμῶν καὶ δραχμαὶ τρισχίλιαι πεντακόσιαι ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο ὀβολοί. λόγον δὲ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἀκριβείας καὶ διανομῆς χαλεπόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, εἰ μή τις ἄρα βούλοιτο τῆς τριάδος ὑμνεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ὅτι καὶ φύσει τέλειος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν περιττῶν ἀρχή τε πλήθους ἐν αὑτῷ τάς τε πρώτας διαφορὰς καὶ τὰ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα μίξας καὶ συναρμό-
σας εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀνείληφεν.

V. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν γνώμην ἀπαρτήσας εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἡδίω πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐποίησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ πάσας θέμενος ἐν αὑτῷ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς εὐπραξίας δι' ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως παραδιδόντος, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, οὐχ ὡς διαμαχούμενος, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τὴν ἀκμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τρίβειν καὶ
2 ὑπαναλίσκειν βεβουλευμένος. ὅθεν ἀεὶ μετέωρος ἀπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τόποις ὀρεινοῖς στρατοπεδεύων ἐπῃωρεῖτο, καθημένου μὲν ἡσυχά-
ζων, κινουμένου δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄκρων κύκλῳ περιὼν

the dictator, in the presence of all the people, vowed to sacrifice to the gods an entire year's increase in goats, swine, sheep, and cattle, that is, all that Italy's mountains, plains, rivers, and meadows should breed in the coming spring.[1] He likewise vowed to celebrate a musical and dramatic festival in honour of the gods, which should cost three hundred and thirty-three sestertia, plus three hundred and thirty-three denarii, plus one third of a denarius. This sum, in Greek money, amounts to eighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-three drachmas, plus two obols. Now the reason for the exact prescription of this particular number is hard to give, unless it was thereby desired to laud the power of the number three, as being a perfect number by nature, the first of odd numbers, the beginning of quantity, and as containing in itself the first differences and the elements of every number mingled and blended together.

V. By thus fixing the thoughts of the people upon their relations with Heaven, Fabius made them more cheerful regarding the future. But he himself put all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that Heaven bestowed success by reason of wisdom and valour, and turned his attentions to Hannibal. He did not purpose to fight out the issue with him, but wished, having plenty of time, money, and men, to wear out and consume gradually his culminating vigour, his scanty resources, and his small army. Therefore, always pitching his camp in hilly regions so as to be out of reach of the enemy's cavalry, he hung threateningly over them. If they sat still, he too kept quiet; but if they moved, he would fetch a

[1] Ver sacrum (Livy xxii. 10).

καὶ περιφαινόμενος ἐκ διαστήματος ὅσον ἀκοντὶ μὴ βιασθῆναι μάχεσθαι καὶ φόβον ὡς μαχησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως αὐτῆς παρέχειν. οὕτω δὲ παράγων τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ πάντων κατεφρονεῖτο, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἤκουεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κομιδῇ δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄτολμος ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς
3 Ἀννίβου. μόνος δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῦ τὴν δεινότητα, καὶ τὸν τρόπον ᾧ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, συνιδών, καὶ διανοηθεὶς ὡς πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ βίᾳ κινητέος ἐστὶν εἰς μάχην ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ διαπέπρακται τὰ Καρχηδονίων, οἷς μέν εἰσι κρείττους ὅπλοις χρήσασθαι μὴ δυναμένων, οἷς δὲ λείπονται σώμασι καὶ χρήμασιν ἐλαττουμένων καὶ δαπανωμένων εἰς τὸ μηδέν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν στρατηγικῶν σοφισμάτων καὶ παλαισμάτων τρεπόμενος, καὶ πειρώμενος ὥσπερ δεινὸς ἀθλητὴς λαβὴν ζητῶν, προσέβαλλε καὶ διετάραττε καὶ μετῆγε πολλαχόσε τὸν Φάβιον, ἐκστῆσαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας λογισμῶν βου- 177
λόμενος.
4 Τῷ δ' ἡ μὲν γνώμη[1] πίστιν ἔχουσα τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐν ἑαυτῇ βέβαιος εἱστήκει καὶ ἀμετάπτωτος· ἠνώχλει δ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππαρχος Μινούκιος φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως καὶ θρασυνόμενος καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στράτευμα μανικῆς φορᾶς καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένον· οἳ τὸν μὲν Φάβιον σκώπτοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες Ἀννίβου παιδαγωγὸν ἀπεκάλουν, τὸν δὲ Μινού-

[1] Τῷ δ' ἡ μὲν γνώμη with Bekker: Τῷ δὲ ἡ γνώμη.

circuit down from the heights and show himself just far enough away to avoid being forced to fight against his will, and yet near enough to make his very delays inspire the enemy with the fear that he was going to give battle at last. But for merely consuming time in this way he was generally despised by his countrymen, and roundly abused even in his own camp. Much more did his enemies think him a man of no courage and a mere nobody,—all except Hannibal. He, and he alone, comprehended the cleverness of his antagonist, and the style of warfare which he had adopted. He therefore made up his mind that by every possible device and constraint his foe must be induced to fight, or else the Carthaginians were undone, since they were unable to use their weapons, in which they were superior, but were slowly losing and expending to no purpose their men and moneys, in which they were inferior. He therefore resorted to every species of strategic trick and artifice, and tried them all, seeking, like a clever athlete, to get a hold upon his adversary. Now he would attack Fabius directly, now he would seek to throw his forces into confusion, and now he would try to lead him off every whither, in his desire to divorce him from his safe, defensive plans.

But the purpose of Fabius, confident of a favourable issue, remained consistent and unchangeable. He was annoyed, however, by his Master of Horse, Minucius, who was eager to fight all out of season, and over bold, and who sought to win a following in the army, which he filled with mad impetuosity and empty hopes. The soldiers railed at Fabius and scornfully called him Hannibal's pedagogue; but

κιον μέγαν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄξιον ἡγοῦντο
5 στρατηγόν· ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς φρόνημα καὶ θράσος
ἀνειμένος ἐχλεύαζε μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων στρα-
τοπεδείας, ὡς καλὰ θέατρα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀεὶ
παρασκευαζομένου θεωρήσουσι πορθουμένην καὶ
φλεγομένην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἠρώτα δὲ τοὺς φίλους
τοῦ Φαβίου πότερον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄρας ἀνα-
φέρει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς τῆς γῆς ἀπεγνωκώς, ἢ νέφη
καὶ ὁμίχλας προβαλλόμενος ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς
6 πολεμίους. ταῦτα τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον
ἀπαγγελλόντων καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν τῷ κινδύνῳ
λῦσαι παραινούντων, "Οὕτω μέντἂν," ἔφη, "δει-
λότερος ἢ νῦν εἶναι δοκῶ γενοίμην, εἰ σκώμματα
καὶ λοιδορίας φοβηθεὶς ἐκπέσοιμι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ
λογισμῶν. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος οὐκ
αἰσχρὸν δέος, ἡ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ
διαβολὰς καὶ ψόγους ἔκπληξις οὐκ ἀξίου τηλι-
καύτης ἀρχῆς ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ δουλεύοντος ὧν κρα-
τεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ δεσπόζειν κακῶς φρονούντων προσ-
ήκει."

VI. Μετὰ ταῦτα γίνεται διαμαρτία τοῦ Ἀννί-
βου. βουλόμενος γὰρ ἀποσπάσαι τοῦ Φαβίου
πορρωτέρω τὸ στράτευμα καὶ πεδίων ἐπιλα-
βέσθαι προνομὰς ἐχόντων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁδηγοὺς
μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ Κασινάτον.
οἱ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς διὰ βαρβαρισμὸν οὐκ ἐξακού-
σαντες ἀκριβῶς, ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν
φέροντες εἰς τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς Καμπανίας εἰς
πόλιν Κασιλῖνον, ἣν τέμνει ῥέων διὰ μέσης ποτα-
μός, ὃν Οὐολτοῦρνον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.
2 ἔστι δ' ἡ χώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιστεφὴς ὄρεσιν·

Minucius they considered a great man, and a general worthy of Rome. All the more therefore did he indulge his arrogance and boldness, and scoffed at their encampments on the heights, where, as he said, the dictator was always arranging beautiful theatres for their spectacle of Italy laid waste with fire and sword. And he would ask the friends of Fabius whether he was taking his army up into heaven, having lost all hope of earth, or whether he wrapped himself in clouds and mists merely to run away from the enemy. When his friends reported this to Fabius, and advised him to do away with the opprobrium by risking battle, "In that case, surely," said he, "I should be a greater coward than I am now held to be, if through fear of abusive jests I should abandon my fixed plans. And verily the fear which one exercises in behalf of his country is not shameful; but to be frightened from one's course by the opinions of men, and by their slanderous censures, that marks a man unworthy of so high an office as this, who makes himself the slave of the fools over whom he is in duty bound to be lord and master."

VI. After this, Hannibal fell into a grievous error. He wished to draw his army off some distance beyond Fabius, and occupy plains affording pasturage. He therefore ordered his native guides to conduct him, immediately after supper, into the district of Casinum. But they did not hear the name correctly, owing to his foreign way of pronouncing it, and promptly hurried his forces to the edge of Campania, into the city and district of Casilinum, through the midst of which flows a dividing river, called Vulturnus by the Romans. The region is otherwise encompassed by mountains, but a narrow defile opens

αὐλὼν δ' ἀναπέπταται πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ἔνθα τὰ ἕλη καταδίδωσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιχεομένου, καὶ θῖνας ἄμμου βαθείας ἔχει, καὶ τελευτᾷ πρὸς αἰγιαλὸν κυματώδη καὶ δύσορμον. ἐνταῦθα καταβαίνοντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιελθὼν ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν διέξοδον ὁπλίτας τετρακισχιλίους ἐπιστήσας ἐνέφραξε, τὸν δ' ἄλλον στρατὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄκρων ἐν καλῷ καθίσας διὰ τῶν ἐλαφροτάτων καὶ προχειροτάτων ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ συνετάραξεν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα, διέφθειρε δὲ περὶ ὀκτακο-
3 σίους. ἐκ τούτου βουλόμενος Ἀννίβας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τὴν διαμαρτίαν τοῦ τόπου νοήσας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν τοὺς ὁδηγούς, ἐκβιάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ προσμάχεσθαι τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας ἀπεγίνωσκε. δυσθύμως δὲ καὶ περιφόβως διακειμένων ἁπάντων, καὶ περιεστάναι σφᾶς πανταχόθεν ἀφύκτους ἡγουμένων ἀπορίας, ἔγνω δολοῦν ἀπάτῃ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε.

4 Βοῦς ὅσον δισχιλίας ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκέλευσε συλλαβόντας ἀναδῆσαι δᾷδα πρὸς ἕκαστον κέρας ἢ λύγων ἢ φρυγάνων ἄὐων φάκελον· εἶτα νυκτός, ὅταν ἀρθῇ σημεῖον, ἀνάψαντας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς παρὰ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκεύαζον οἷς προσετέτακτο, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἀναστήσας στρατὸν ἤδη σκότους ὄντος ἦγε σχολαίως.
5 αἱ δὲ βόες, ἄχρι μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὀλίγον ἦν καὶ περιέ-

out towards the sea, in the vicinity of which it becomes marshy, from the overflow of the river, has high sand-heaps, and terminates in a beach where there is no anchorage because of the dashing waves. While Hannibal was descending into this valley, Fabius, taking advantage of his acquaintance with the ways, marched round him, and blocked up the narrow outlet with a detachment of four thousand heavy infantry. The rest of his army he posted to advantage on the remaining heights, while with the lightest and readiest of his troops he fell upon the enemy's rear-guard, threw their whole army into confusion, and slew about eight hundred of them. Hannibal now perceived the mistake in his position, and its peril, and crucified the native guides who were responsible for it. He wished to effect a retreat, but despaired of dislodging his enemies by direct attack from the passes of which they were masters. All his men, moreover, were disheartened and fearful, thinking that they were surrounded on all sides by difficulties from which there was no escape. He therefore determined to cheat his enemies by a trick, the nature of which was as follows.

He gave orders to take about two thousand of the cattle which they had captured, fasten to each of their horns a torch consisting of a bundle of withes or faggots, and then, in the night, at a given signal, to light the torches and drive the cattle towards the passes, along the defiles guarded by the enemy. As soon as his orders had been obeyed, he decamped with the rest of his army, in the darkness which had now come, and led it slowly along. The cattle, as long as the fire was slight, and consumed only the

καιε τὴν ὕλην, ἀτρέμα προεχώρουν ἐλαυνόμεναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπώρειαν, καὶ θαῦμα τοῖς καθορῶσι νομεῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ βουκόλοις ἦσαν αἱ φλόγες ἄκροις ἐπιλάμπουσαι τοῖς κέρασιν, ὡς στρατοπέδου καθ' ἕνα κόσμον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων
6 πολλῶν βαδίζοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πυρούμενον τὸ κέρας 17
ἄχρι ῥίζης διέδωκε τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόνον διαφέρουσαι καὶ τινάσσουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνεπίμπλαντο πολλῆς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων φλογός, οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τῇ τάξει τῆς πορείας, ἀλλ' ἔκφοβοι καὶ περιαλγεῖς οὖσαι δρόμῳ κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐφέροντο, λαμπόμεναι μὲν οὐρὰς ἄκρας καὶ μέτωπα, πολλὴν δὲ τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἧς ἔφευγον,
7 ἀνάπτουσαι. δεινὸν οὖν ἦν θέαμα τοῖς παραφυλάττουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Ῥωμαίοις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ φλόγες ἐῴκεσαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων θεόντων διαφερομέναις λαμπάσι, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺς καὶ φόβος, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλους ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων σφίσι καὶ κυκλοῦσθαι πανταχόθεν ἡγουμένων. διὸ μένειν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον ἀνεχώρουν στρατόπεδον προέμενοι τὰ στενά. καὶ[1] κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ καιροῦ προσμίξαντες οἱ ψιλοὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου τὰς ὑπερβολὰς κατέσχον, ἡ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις ἤδη προσέβαινεν ἀδεῶς πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐφελκομένη λείαν.

VII. Τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ συνέβη μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς αἰσθέσθαι τὸν δόλον (φεύγουσαι γὰρ ἔνιαι τῶν βοῶν σποράδες ἦκον αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας), ἐνέδρας δὲ δεδιὼς σκοταίους ἀτρέμα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶχεν. ὡς δ' ἦν ἡμέρα, διώκων ἐξήπτετο

[1] καὶ bracketed by Coraës and Bekker.

wood, went on quietly, as they were driven, towards the slopes of the mountains, and the shepherds and herdsmen who looked down from the heights were amazed at the flames gleaming on the tips of their horns. They thought an army was marching in close array by the light of many torches. But when the horns had been burned down to the roots, and the live flesh felt the flames, and the cattle, at the pain, shook and tossed their heads, and so covered one another with quantities of fire, then they kept no order in their going, but, in terror and anguish, went dashing down the mountains, their foreheads and tails ablaze, and setting fire also to much of the forest through which they fled. It was, of course, a fearful spectacle to the Romans guarding the passes. For the flames seemed to come from torches in the hands of men who were running hither and thither with them. They were therefore in great commotion and fear, believing that the enemy were advancing upon them from all quarters and surrounding them on every side. Therefore they had not the courage to hold their posts, but withdrew to the main body of their army on the heights, and abandoned the defiles. Instantly the light-armed troops of Hannibal came up and took possession of the passes, and the rest of his forces presently joined them without any fear, although heavily encumbered with much spoil.

VII. It was still night when Fabius became aware of the ruse, for some of the cattle, in their random flight, were captured by his men; but he was afraid of ambushes in the darkness, and so kept still, with his forces under arms. When it was day, however, he pursued the enemy, and hung upon their rear-guard,

τῶν ἐσχάτων, καὶ συμπλοκαὶ περὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐγίνοντο καὶ θόρυβος ἦν πολύς, ἕως παρ' Ἀννίβου τῶν ὀρειβατεῖν δεινῶν Ἰβήρων ἄνδρες ἐλαφροὶ καὶ ποδώκεις πεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος εἰς βαρεῖς ὁπλίτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέβαλον, καὶ διαφθείραντες οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέστρεψαν τὸν Φά-
2 βιον. τότε δὴ μάλιστα κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ καταφρονηθῆναι συνέβη τὸν Φάβιον. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τόλμης ὑφιέμενος, ὡς γνώμῃ καὶ προνοίᾳ καταπολεμήσων τὸν Ἀννίβαν, αὐτὸς ἡττημένος τούτοις καὶ κατεστρατηγημένος ἐφαίνετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκκαῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἀννίβας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα καίειν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκείνων δ' ἀπεῖπεν ἅπτεσθαι μόνων, καὶ παρακατέστησε φυλακὴν οὐδὲν ἐῶσαν ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν ἐκεῖθεν.
3 ταῦτα προσδιέβαλε τὸν Φάβιον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οἱ δήμαρχοι κατεβόων, ἐπάγοντος μάλιστα Μετιλίου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Φάβιον ἔχθραν, ἀλλ' οἰκεῖος ὢν Μινουκίου τοῦ ἱππάρχου τιμὴν ᾤετο καὶ δόξαν ἐκείνῳ φέρειν τὰς τούτου διαβολάς· ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δι' ὀργῆς οὐχ ἥκιστα μεμφομένῃ τὰς περὶ τῶν
4 αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ὁμολογίας. ὡμολογήκεισαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα μὲν ἀνδρὶ λύεσθαι τῶν ἁλισκομένων, εἰ δὲ πλείους οἱ ἕτεροι γένοιντο, διδόναι δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τὸν κομιζόμενον

and there was hand-to-hand fighting over difficult ground, and much tumult and confusion. At last Hannibal sent back from his van a body of Spaniards, —nimble, light-footed men, and good mountaineers, who fell upon the heavy-armed Roman infantry, cut many of them to pieces,[1] and forced Fabius to turn back. And now more than ever was Fabius the mark for scorn and abuse. He had renounced all bold and open fighting, with the idea of conquering Hannibal by the exercise of superior judgment and foresight, and now he was clearly vanquished himself by these very qualities in his foe, and out-generalled.

Hannibal, moreover, wishing to inflame still more the wrath of the Romans against Fabius, on coming to his fields, gave orders to burn and destroy everything else, but had these spared, and these alone.[2] He also set a guard over them, which suffered no harm to be done them, and nothing to be taken from them. When this was reported at Rome, it brought more odium upon Fabius. The tribunes of the people also kept up a constant denunciation of him, chiefly at the instigation and behest of Metilius; not that Metilius hated Fabius, but he was a kinsman of Minucius, the Master of Horse, and thought that slander of the one meant honour and fame for the other. The senate also was in an angry mood, and found particular fault with Fabius for the terms he had made with Hannibal concerning the prisoners of war. They had agreed between them to exchange the captives man for man, and if either party had more than the other, the one who recovered these

[1] One thousand, according to Polybius, iii. 94.
[2] Cf. *Pericles*, xxxiii. 2.

πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας. ὡς οὖν γενομένης τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα διαμείψεως εὑρέθησαν ὑπόλοιποι Ῥωμαίων παρ' Ἀννίβᾳ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι, τούτων ἡ σύγκλητος ἔγνω τὰ λύτρα μὴ πέμπειν, καὶ προσῃτιᾶτο τὸν Φάβιον ὡς οὐ πρεπόντως οὐδὲ λυσιτελῶς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ δειλίας πολε-
5 μίων ἄγραν γενομένους ἀνακομιζόμενον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἔφερε πράως τῶν πολιτῶν, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχων, διαψεύσασθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ προέσθαι τοὺς πολίτας οὐχ ὑπομένων, ἔπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν εἰς Ῥώμην κελεύσας ἀποδόσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον εὐθὺς ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κομίζειν. ἀποδομένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὰ χωρία καὶ ταχέως ἐπανελθόντος ἀπέπεμψε τὰ λύτρα τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλαβε· καὶ πολλῶν ἀποδιδόντων ὕστερον παρ' οὐδενὸς ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκε πᾶσι.

VIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἱερέων καλούντων αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπί τινας θυσίας παρέδωκε τῷ Μινουκίῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχεσθαι 179
μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ μόνον ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ διαγορεύσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ δεήσεις πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος· ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐλάχιστα φροντίσας εὐθὺς ἐνέκειτο τοῖς
2 πολεμίοις. καί ποτε παραφυλάξας τὸν Ἀννίβαν τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν ἀφεικότα, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ, κατήραξεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ φόβον περιέστησε πᾶσιν ὡς πολιορκησομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ συλλεγομένης

was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas per man. Accordingly, after the exchange of man for man was made, it was found that Hannibal still had two hundred and forty Romans left. The senate decided not to send the ransom money for these, and found fault with Fabius for trying, in a manner unbecoming and unprofitable to the state, to recover men whose cowardice had made them a prey to the enemy. When Fabius heard of this, he bore the resentment of his fellow-citizens with equanimity, but since he had no money, and could not harbour the thought of cheating Hannibal and abandoning his countrymen to their fate, he sent his son to Rome with orders to sell his fields [1] and bring the money to him at once, at camp. The young man sold the estates and quickly made his return, whereupon Fabius sent the ransom money to Hannibal and got back the prisoners of war. Many of these afterwards offered to pay him the price of their ransom, but in no case did he take it, remitting it rather for all.

VIII. After this he was summoned to Rome by the priests to assist in sundry sacrifices, and put his forces in charge of Minucius, who was not to give battle, nor engage the enemy in any way. Such were not only the commands of Fabius as dictator, but also his reiterated counsels and requests. To all these Minucius gave little heed, and straightway began to threaten the enemy. One day he noticed that Hannibal had sent the larger part of his army off to forage, whereupon he attacked the residue, drove them headlong inside their trenches, slew many of them, and inspired them all with the fear of being held in siege by him. When Hannibal's

[1] Cf. chapter vii. 2.

αὖθις εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀσφαλῶς ἀνεχώρησεν, αὐτόν τε μεγαλαυχίας ἀμέτρου καὶ θράσους τὸ στρατιωτικὸν
3 ἐμπεπληκώς. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου λόγος μείζων διεφοίτησεν εἰς Ῥώμην. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ἀκούσας ἔφη μᾶλλον τοῦ Μινουκίου φοβεῖσθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν,[1] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἥρτο καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς εἰς ἀγορὰν συνέτρεχε, καὶ Μετίλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καταστὰς ἐδημηγόρει μεγαλύνων τὸν Μινούκιον, τοῦ δὲ Φαβίου κατηγορῶν οὐ μαλακίαν οὐδ' ἀνανδρίαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη
4 προδοσίαν, συναιτιώμενος ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ πρώτους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου, τήν τε πόλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εὐθὺς εἰς μοναρχίαν ἀνυπεύθυνον, ἣ διατρίβουσα τὰς πράξεις ἴδρυσιν Ἀννίβᾳ παρέξει καὶ χρόνον αὖθις ἐκ Λιβύης ἑτέραν δύναμιν προσγενέσθαι ὡς κρατοῦντι τῆς Ἰταλίας.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Φάβιος προσελθὼν ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν οὐδ' ἐμέλλησε πρὸς τὸν δήμαρχον, ἔφη δὲ τάχιστα τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας γενέσθαι, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα βαδιεῖσθαι τῷ Μινουκίῳ δίκην ἐπιθήσων, ὅτι κωλύσαντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέβαλε, θόρυβος διῆξε τοῦ δήμου πολύς, ὡς κινδυνεύσοντος τοῦ Μινουκίου. καὶ γὰρ εἶρξαι τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ θανατῶσαι πρὸ δίκης ἔξεστι· καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ πολλῆς πραότητος κεκινημένον ᾤοντο βαρὺν εἶναι καὶ

[1] ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν supplied by Sintenis, followed by Bekker. Cf. *Morals*, p. 195 d. Secunda se magis quam adversa timere, *Livy*, xxii. 25.

forces were reunited in their camp, Minucius effected a safe retreat, thereby filling himself with measureless boastfulness and his soldiery with boldness. An exaggerated version of the affair speedily made its way to Rome, and Fabius, when he heard it, said he was more afraid of the success of Minucius than he would be of his failure. But the people were exalted in spirit and joyfully ran to a meeting in the forum. There Metilius their tribune mounted the rostra and harangued them, extolling Minucius, but denouncing Fabius, not as a weakling merely, nor yet as a coward, but actually as a traitor. He also included in his accusations the ablest and foremost men of the state besides. They had brought on the war at the outset, he said, in order to crush the people, and had at once flung the city into the hands of a man with sole and absolute authority, that he might, by his dilatory work, give Hannibal an assured position and time to reinforce himself with another army from Libya, on the plea that he had Italy in his power.

IX. Then Fabius came forward to speak, but wasted no time on a defence of himself against the tribune. He simply said that the sacrifices and sacred rites must be performed as quickly as possible, so that he might proceed to the army and punish Minucius for engaging the enemy contrary to his orders. Thereupon a great commotion spread swiftly through the people; they realized the peril that threatened Minucius. For the dictator has the power to imprison and put to death without trial, and they thought that the wrath of Fabius, provoked in a man of his great gentleness, would be severe

2 δυσπαραίτητον. ὅθεν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καταδείσαντες ἡσυχίαν ἦγον· ὁ δὲ Μετίλιος ἔχων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἄδειαν (μόνη γὰρ αὕτη δικτάτορος αἱρεθέντος ἡ ἀρχὴ τὸ κράτος οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν, ἀλλὰ μένει τῶν ἄλλων καταλυθεισῶν), ἐνέκειτο τῷ δήμῳ πολύς, μὴ προέσθαι δεόμενος τὸν Μινούκιον μηδ' ἐâσαι παθεῖν ἃ Μάλλιος Τουρκουâτος ἔδρασε τὸν υἱόν, ἀριστεύσαντος καὶ στεφανωθέντος ἀποκόψας πελέκει τὸν τράχηλον, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ σώζειν ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ πράγματα.

3 Τοιούτοις λόγοις κινηθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν μὲν Φάβιον οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀναγκάσαι καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, καίπερ ἀδοξοῦντα, τὸν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς στρατηγίας ὁμότιμον ὄντα διέπειν τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας τῷ δικτάτορι, πρâγμα μὴ πρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγονός, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον αὖθις γενόμενον μετὰ

4 τὴν ἐν Κάνναις ἀτυχίαν. καὶ γὰρ τότ' ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων Μάρκος ἦν Ἰούνιος δικτάτωρ, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀναπληρῶσαι δεῆσαν, ἅτε δὴ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συγκλητικῶν ἀπολωλότων, ἕτερον εἵλοντο δικτάτορα Φάβιον Βουτεῶνα. πλὴν οὗτος μέν, ἐπεὶ προῆλθε καὶ κατέλεξε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ συνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλήν, αὐθημερὸν ἀφεὶς τοὺς ῥαβδούχους καὶ διαφυγὼν τοὺς προάγοντας, εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἐμβαλὼν καὶ καταμίξας ἑαυτὸν ἤδη τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ διοικῶν καὶ πραγματευόμενος ὥσπερ ἰδιώτης ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορâς ἀνεστρέφετο.

and implacable. Wherefore they were all terrified and held their peace, excepting only Metilius. He enjoyed immunity of person as tribune of the people (for this is the only magistracy which is not robbed of its power by the election of a dictator; it abides when the rest are abolished[1]), and vehemently charged and prayed the people not to abandon Minucius, nor permit him to suffer the fate which Manlius Torquatus inflicted upon his son, whom he beheaded although crowned with laurel for the greatest prowess,[2] but to strip Fabius of his tyrant's power and entrust the state to one who was able and willing to save it.

The rabble were moved by such utterances. They did not dare to force Fabius to resign his sovereignty, unpopular as he was, but they voted that Minucius should have an equal share in the command, and should conduct the war with the same powers as the dictator,—a thing which had not happened before in Rome. A little while afterwards, it is true, it happened again, namely, after the disaster at Cannae.[3] At that time Marcus Junius the dictator was in the field, and at home it became necessary that the senate should be filled up, since many senators had perished in the battle. They therefore elected Fabius Buteo a second dictator. But he, after acting in that capacity and choosing the men to fill up the senate, at once dismissed his lictors, eluded his escort, plunged into the crowd, and straightway went up and down the forum arranging some business matter of his own and engaging in affairs like a private citizen.

[1] See Polybius, iii. 87.

[2] The son had disobeyed consular orders and engaged in single combat with a Latin, in the great battle at the foot of Vesuvius, 340 B.C.

[3] Cf. chapter xvi.

X. Τὸν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τῷ δικτάτορι πράξεις ἀποδείξαντες ᾤοντο κεκολοῦσθαι καὶ γεγονέναι ταπεινὸν παντάπασιν ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ἡγεῖτο τὴν ἐκείνων ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Διογένης ὁ σοφός, εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς αὐτόν· "Οὗτοι σοῦ καταγελῶσιν," "Ἀλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, 18
"οὐ καταγελῶμαι," μόνους ἡγούμενος καταγελᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα διαταραττομένους, οὕτω Φάβιος ἔφερεν ἀπαθῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα, συμβαλλόμενος ἀπόδειξιν τῶν φιλοσόφων τοῖς ἀξιοῦσι μήτε ὑβρίζεσθαι μήτε ἀτιμοῦσθαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σπουδαῖον. ἠνία δ' αὐτὸν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἀβουλία διὰ τὰ κοινά, δεδωκότων ἀφορμὰς ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ὑγιαινούσῃ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ δεδοικὼς μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκμανεὶς ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης καὶ ὄγκου φθάσῃ τι κακὸν ἀπεργασάμενος, λαθὼν ἅπαντας ἐξῆλθε· καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Μινούκιον οὐκέτι καθεκτόν, ἀλλὰ βαρὺν καὶ τετυφωμένον καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦντα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐ συνεχώρησε, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διενείματο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς μέρους μόνος ἄρξων βέλτιον ἢ πάντων παρὰ μέρος. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τέταρτον αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐκείνῳ παρέδωκεν, ἐπίσης καὶ τῶν συμμαχικῶν διανεμηθέντων. σεμνυνομένου δὲ τοῦ Μινουκίου καὶ χαίροντος ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ὑφεῖσθαι καὶ προπεπηλακίσθαι δι' αὐτόν, ὑπεμίμνησκεν ὁ Φάβιος ὡς οὐκ ὄντος μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς Φάβιον, ἀλλ',

X. Now that they had invested Minucius with the same powers as the dictator, the people supposed that the latter would feel shorn of strength and altogether humble, but they did not estimate the man aright. For he did not regard their mistake as his own calamity, but was like Diogenes the wise man, who, when some one said to him, "These folk are ridiculing you," said, "But I am not ridiculed." He held that only those are ridiculed who are confounded by such treatment and yield their ground. So Fabius endured the situation calmly and easily, so far as it affected himself, thereby confirming the axiom of philosophy that a sincerely good man can neither be insulted nor dishonoured. But because it affected the state, he was distressed by the folly of the multitude. They had given opportunities to a man with a diseased military ambition, and fearful lest this man, utterly crazed by his empty glory and prestige, should bring about some great disaster before he could be checked, he set out in all secrecy from the city. When he reached the camp, he found that Minucius was no longer to be endured. He was harsh in his manner, puffed up with conceit, and demanded the sole command in his due turn. This Fabius would not grant, feeling that the sole command of a part of the army was better than the command of the whole in his turn. The first and fourth legions he therefore took himself, and gave the second and third to Minucius, the allied forces also being equally divided between them. When Minucius put on lofty airs and exulted because the majesty of the highest and greatest office in the state had been lowered and insulted on his account, Fabius reminded him that his contention was not

εἰ σωφρονεῖ, πρὸς Ἀννίβαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φιλονεικεῖ, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τοῦ νενικημένου καὶ καθυβρισμένου παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ τετιμημένος καὶ νενικηκὼς οὐ φανεῖται μᾶλλον ὀλιγωρῶν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας.

XI. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρωνείαν ἡγεῖτο γεροντικήν· παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποκληρωθεῖσαν δύναμιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, οὐδὲν ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐφεδρεύοντος. ἦν δὲ λόφος κατὰ μέσον καταληφθῆναι μὲν οὐ χαλεπός, ὀχυρὸς δὲ καταληφθεὶς στρατοπέδῳ καὶ διαρκὴς εἰς ἅπαντα. τὸ δὲ πέριξ πεδίον ὀφθῆναι μὲν ἄπωθεν ὁμαλὸν διὰ ψιλότητα καὶ λεῖον, ἔχον δέ τινας οὐ μεγάλας
2 τάφρους ἐν αὑτῷ καὶ κοιλότητας ἄλλας. διὸ καὶ τὸν λόφον ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾴστου κρύφα κατασχεῖν παρὸν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, ἀλλ' ἀπέλιπε μάχης ἐν μέσῳ πρόφασιν. ὡς δ' εἶδε κεχωρισμένον τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν Μινούκιον, νυκτὸς μὲν εἰς τὰς τάφρους καὶ τὰς κοιλότητας κατέσπειρε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινας, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φανερῶς ἔπεμψεν οὐ πολλοὺς καταληψομένους τὸν λόφον, ὡς ἐπαγάγοιτο συμπεσεῖν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τὸν Μινούκιον.
3 Ὁ δὴ καὶ συνέβη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστειλε τὴν κούφην στρατιάν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἱππεῖς, τέλος

with Fabius, but rather, were he wise, with Hannibal. If, however, he was bent on rivalry with his colleague in office, he must see to it that the man who had been triumphantly honoured by his fellow-citizens should not be proved more careless of their salvation and safety than the man who had been ingloriously outraged by them.

XI. But Minucius regarded all this as an old man's dissimulation, and taking the forces allotted to him, went into camp apart by himself,[1] while Hannibal, not unaware of what was going on, kept a watchful eye on everything. Now there was a hill between him and the Romans which could be occupied with no difficulty, and which, if occupied, would be a strong site for a camp and in every way sufficient. The plain round about, when viewed from a distance, was perfectly smooth and level, but really had sundry small ditches and other hollow places in it. For this reason, though it would have been very easy for him to get possession of the hill by stealth, Hannibal had not cared to do so, but had left it standing between the two armies in the hope that it might bring on a battle. But when he saw Minucius separated from Fabius, in the night he scattered bodies of his soldiers among the ditches and hollows,[2] and at break of day, with no attempt at concealment, sent a few to occupy the hill, that he might seduce Minucius into an engagement for it.

And this actually came to pass. First Minucius sent out his light-armed troops, then his horsemen,

[1] A mile and a half from Fabius, according to Polybius, iii. 103.

[2] Five thousand horsemen and footmen, according to Livy, xxii. 28; five thousand light-armed and other infantry, and five hundred cavalry, according to Polybius, iii. 104.

δ' ὁρῶν τὸν Ἀννίβαν παραβοηθοῦντα τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πάσῃ κατέβαινε τῇ δυνάμει συντεταγμένος. καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν θέμενος ἠμύνετο τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου βάλλοντας, συμπλεκόμενος καὶ ἴσα φερόμενος, ἄχρι οὗ καλῶς ἠπατημένον ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ γυμνὰ παρέχοντα τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι
4 τὰ νῶτα τὸ σημεῖον αἴρει. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο πολλαχόθεν ἐξανισταμένων ἅμα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς προσφερομένων καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀποκτιννύντων ἀδιήγητος κατεῖχε ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Μινουκίου τὸ θράσος κατακέκλαστο, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ἄλλοτε τῶν ἡγεμόνων διεπάπταινεν, οὐδενὸς ἐν χώρᾳ μένειν τολμῶντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγὴν ὠθουμένων οὐ σωτήριον. οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες ἤδη κρατοῦντες κύκλῳ περιήλαυνον τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκιδναμένους ἔκτεινον.

XII. Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ κακῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντων οὐκ ἔλαθεν ὁ κίνδυνος τὸν Φάβιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤδη προειληφὼς τήν τε δύναμιν συντεταγμένην εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα γινώσκειν ἐφρόντιζεν οὐ δι' ἀγ- 181
γέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔχων κατασκοπὴν πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος. ὡς οὖν κατεῖδε κυκλούμενον καὶ ταραττόμενον τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κραυγὴ προσέπιπτεν οὐ μενόντων, ἀλλ' ἤδη πεφοβημένων καὶ τρεπο-
2 μένων, μηρόν τε πληξάμενος καὶ στενάξας μέγα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν· "Ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὡς τάχιον μὲν ἡ ἐγὼ προσεδόκων, βράδιον δ' ἢ αὐτὸς ἔσπευδε Μινούκιος ἑαυτὸν ἀπολώλεκε," τὰς

and finally, when he saw Hannibal coming to the support of his troops on the hill, he descended into the plain with all his forces in battle array. In a fierce battle he sustained the discharge of missiles from the hill, coming to close quarters with the enemy there and holding his advantage, until Hannibal, seeing that his enemy was happily deceived and was exposing the rear of his line of battle to the troops who had been placed in ambush, raised the signal. At this his men rose up on all sides, attacked with loud cries, and slew their foes who were in the rear ranks. Then indescribable confusion and fright took possession of the Romans. Minucius himself felt all his courage shattered, and looked anxiously now to one and now to another of his commanders, no one of whom dared to hold his ground, nay, all urged their men to flight, and a fatal flight too. For the Numidians, now masters of the situation, galloped round the plain and slew them as they scattered themselves about.

XII. Now that the Romans were in such an evil pass, Fabius was not unaware of their peril. He had anticipated the result, as it would seem, and had his forces drawn up under arms, wisely learning the progress of events not from messengers, but by his own observations in front of his camp. Accordingly, when he saw the army of Minucius surrounded and confounded, and when their cries, as they fell upon his ears, showed him that they no longer stood their ground, but were already panic-stricken and routed, he smote his thigh, and with a deep groan said to the bystanders: "Hercules! how much sooner than I expected, but later than his own rash eagerness demanded, has Minucius destroyed himself!" Then

δὲ σημαίας ἐκφέρειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας ἀνεβόησε· "Νῦν τις, ὦ στρατιῶται, Μάρκου Μινουκίου μεμνημένος ἐπειγέσθω· λαμπρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόπατρις. εἰ δέ τι σπεύδων ἐξελάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἥμαρτεν, αὖθις αἰτιασόμεθα."

3 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεὶς τρέπεται καὶ διασκίδνησι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιελαύνοντας Νομάδας· εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ κατὰ νώτου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντας ἐχώρει καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδὼν ἔκτεινεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποί,[1] πρὶν ἀποληφθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι περιπετεῖς οἷς αὐτοὶ τοὺς

4 Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν, ἐγκλίναντες ἔφυγον. ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸν Φάβιον εὐρώστως παρ' ἡλικίαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὠθούμενον ἄνω πρὸς τὸν Μινούκιον εἰς τὸν λόφον, ἐπέσχε τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας ἀνάκλησιν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀσμένως καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποτρεπομένων. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα περὶ τοῦ Φαβίου πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον μετὰ παιδιᾶς· "οὐκ ἐγὼ μέντοι προὔλεγον ὑμῖν πολλάκις τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ταύτην καθημένην νεφέλην, ὅτι μετὰ ζάλης ποτὲ καὶ καταιγίδων ὄμβρον ἐκρήξει;"

XIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Φάβιος μὲν ὅσους ἔκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσας ἀνεχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον οὐδ' ἐπαχθὲς εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος· Μινούκιος δὲ τὴν αὑτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας, "Ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "συστρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν μηδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις μεῖζον ἢ

[1] λοιποί MSS., Sintenis[1], Coraës, Bekker: πλεῖστοι.

ordering the standards to be swiftly advanced and the army to follow, he called out with a loud voice: "Now, my soldiers, let every man be mindful of Marcus Minucius and press on to his aid; for he is a brilliant man, and a lover of his country. And if his ardent desire to drive away the enemy has led him into any error, we will charge him with it later."

Well then, as soon as he appeared upon the scene, he routed and dispersed the Numidians who were galloping about in the plain. Then he made against those who were attacking the rear of the Romans under Minucius, and slew those whom he encountered. But the rest of them, ere they were cut off and surrounded in their own turn, as the Romans had been by them, turned and fled. Then Hannibal, seeing the turn affairs had taken, and Fabius, with a vigour beyond his years, ploughing his way through the combatants up to Minucius on the hill, put an end to the battle, signalled a retreat, and led his Carthaginians back to their camp, the Romans also being glad of a respite. It is said that as Hannibal withdrew, he addressed to his friends some such pleasantry as this about Fabius: "Verily, did I not often prophesy to you that the cloud which we saw hovering above the heights would one day burst upon us in a drenching and furious storm?"

XIII. After the battle, Fabius despoiled all of the enemy whom he had slain, and withdrew to his camp, without indulging in a single haughty or invidious word about his colleague. And Minucius, assembling his own army, said to them: "Fellow-soldiers, to avoid all mistakes in the conduct of great enter-

κατ' ἄνθρωπόν ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἁμαρτόντα χρήσασθαι τοῖς πταίσμασι διδάγμασι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνδρὸς
2 ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογῶ μικρὰ μεμφόμενος τὴν τύχην περὶ μειζόνων ἐπαινεῖν. ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἠσθόμην χρόνον τοσοῦτον, ἡμέρας μέρει μικρῷ πεπαίδευμαι, γνοὺς ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἄρχειν ἑτέρων δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἑτέρου δεόμενον καὶ φιλοτιμούμενον [1] νικᾶν ὑφ' ὧν ἡττᾶσθαι κάλλιον. ὑμῖν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἄρχων ὁ δικτάτωρ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐχαριστίας αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ἔσομαι, πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν εὐπειθῆ καὶ ποιοῦντα τὸ κελευόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεχόμενος."
3 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς ἄρασθαι κελεύσας καὶ πάντας ἀκολουθεῖν, ἦγε πρὸς τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Φαβίου. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐντὸς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνήν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν καὶ διαπορεῖν πάντας. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου θέμενος ἔμπροσθεν τὰς σημαίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνου πατέρα μεγάλῃ φωνῇ, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοὺς στρατιώτας πάτρωνας ἠσπάζοντο. τοῦτο δ' ἔστι τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις προσφώνημα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπε-
4 λευθερώσαντας. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ὁ Μινούκιος εἶπε· "Δύο νίκας, ὦ δίκτατορ, τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ νενίκηκας, ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν Ἀννίβαν, εὐβουλίᾳ δὲ καὶ χρηστότητι τὸν συνάρχοντα· καὶ δι' ἧς μὲν σέσωκας ἡμᾶς, δι' ἧς δὲ πεπαίδευκας, ἥττωμένους αἰσχρὰν μὲν ἦτταν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καλὴν δὲ καὶ
5 σωτήριον ὑπὸ σοῦ. πατέρα δή σε χρηστὸν [2]

[1] φιλοτιμούμενον the MSS. have μὴ φιλοτιμούμενον, which Coraës defends.

[2] χρηστὸν bracketed by Bekker.

prises is beyond man's powers; but when a mistake has once been made, to use his reverses as lessons for the future is the part of a brave and sensible man. I therefore confess that while I have some slight cause of complaint against fortune, I have larger grounds for praising her. For what I could not learn in all the time that preceded it, I have been taught in the brief space of a single day, and I now perceive that I am not able to command others myself, but need to be under the command of another, and that I have all the while been ambitious to prevail over men of whom to be outdone were better. Now in all other matters the dictator is your leader, but in the rendering of thanks to him I myself will take the lead, and will show myself first in following his advice and doing his bidding."

After these words, he ordered the eagles to be raised and all to follow them, and led the way to the camp of Fabius. When he had entered this, he proceeded to the general's tent, while all were lost in wonder. When Fabius came forth, Minucius had the standards planted in front of him, and addressed him with a loud voice as Father, while his soldiers greeted the soldiers of Fabius as Patrons, the name by which freedmen address those who have set them free. When quiet prevailed, Minucius said: "Dictator, you have on this day won two victories, one over Hannibal through your valour, and one over your colleague through your wisdom and kindness. By the first you saved our lives, and by the second you taught us a great lesson, vanquished as we were by our enemy to our shame, and by you to our honour and safety. I call you by the

προσαγορεύω, τιμιωτέραν οὐκ ἔχων προσηγορίαν, ἐπεὶ τῆς γε τοῦ τεκόντος χάριτος μείζων ἡ παρὰ σοῦ χάρις αὕτη. ἐγεννήθην μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου μόνος, σώζομαι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ μετὰ τοσούτων." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ περιβαλὼν τὸν Φάβιον ἠσπά- 182
ζετο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἦν ὁρᾶν πράττοντας· ἐνεφύοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατεφίλουν, ὥστε μεστὸν εἶναι χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων ἡδίστων τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XIV. Ἐκ τούτου Φάβιος μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὕπατοι δ' αὖθις ἀπεδείκνυντο. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφύλαξαν ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἰδέαν τοῦ πολέμου κατέστησε, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως φεύγοντες πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις ἐπιβοηθοῦντες καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις κωλύοντες· Τερέντιος δὲ Βάρρων εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν προαχθεὶς ἀπὸ γένους ἀσήμου, βίου δὲ διὰ δημοκοπίαν καὶ προπέτειαν ἐπισήμου, δῆλος ἦν εὐθὺς ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητι τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀναρρίψων κύβον.
2 ἐβόα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μενεῖν [1] τὸν πόλεμον ἄχρι οὗ Φαβίοις χρῆται στρατηγοῖς ἡ πόλις, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὄψεσθαί τε καὶ νικήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις συνῆγε καὶ κατέγραφε δύναμιν τηλικαύτην, ἡλίκῃ πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐχρήσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι. μυριάδες γὰρ ἐννέα δισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν δέουσαι συνετάχθησαν εἰς τὴν μάχην, μέγα δέος Φαβίῳ καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαίων· οὐ γὰρ ἤλπιζον ἔξειν ἀναφορὰν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοσαύτῃ σφαλεῖσαν ἡλικίᾳ.

[1] μενεῖν Sintenis [2], after Coraës; MSS., Sintenis [1], and Bekker, μένειν.

excellent name of Father, because there is no more honourable name which I can use; and yet a father's kindness is not so great as this kindness bestowed by you. My father did but beget me, while to you I owe not only my own salvation, but also that of all these men of mine." So saying, he embraced Fabius and kissed him, and the soldiers on both sides in like manner embraced and kissed each other, so that the camp was filled with joy and tears of rejoicing.

XIV. After this, Fabius laid down his office, and consuls were again appointed. The first of these maintained the style of warfare which Fabius had ordained. They avoided a pitched battle with Hannibal, but gave aid and succour to their allies, and prevented their falling away. But when Terentius Varro was elevated to the consulship, a man whose birth was obscure and whose life was conspicuous for servile flattery of the people and for rashness, it was clear that in his inexperience and temerity he would stake the entire issue upon the hazard of a single throw. For he used to shout in the assemblies that the war would continue as long as the city employed men like Fabius as its generals; but that he himself would conquer the enemy the very day he saw them. And not only did he make such speeches, but he also assembled and enrolled a larger force than the Romans had ever employed against any enemy. Eighty-eight thousand men were arrayed for battle, to the great terror of Fabius and all sensible Romans. For they thought their city could not recover if she lost so many men in the prime of life.

3 Διὸ καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τερεντίου Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον, ἄνδρα πολλῶν πολέμων ἔμπειρον, οὐκ ἀρεστὸν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ καταπλῆγα ἔκ τινος καταδίκης πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτῷ γεγενημένης, ἀνίστη καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας, διδάσκων ὡς οὐ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς Τερέντιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσοιτο· σπεύδειν γὰρ μάχην γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς δυνάμεως, τὸν δ' 4 αἰσθανόμενον τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσθενείας. "Ἐγὼ δ'," εἶπεν, "ὦ Παῦλε, Τερεντίου πιστεύεσθαι δικαιότερός εἰμι περὶ τῶν Ἀννίβου πραγμάτων διαβεβαιούμενος ὡς, εἰ μηδεὶς αὐτῷ μαχεῖται τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ἀπολεῖται μένων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ φεύγων ἄπεισιν, ᾧ γε καὶ νῦν νικᾶν καὶ κρατεῖν δοκοῦντι τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς προσκεχώρηκε, τῆς δ' οἴκοθεν δυνάμεως οὐδ' ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα πάνυ 5 περίεστι." πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεται τὸν Παῦλον εἰπεῖν· "Ἐμοὶ μέν, ὦ Φάβιε, τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ σκοποῦντι κρεῖττόν ἐστι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποπεσεῖν δόρασιν ἢ πάλιν ταῖς ψήφοις τῶν πολιτῶν· εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει τὰ δημόσια πράγματα, πειράσομαι μᾶλλον σοὶ δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι στρατηγός. ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ τἀναντία βιαζομένοις." ταύτην ἔχων τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

XV. Ἀλλ' ὁ Τερέντιος ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ παρ' ἡμέραν ἄρχειν, καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ παραστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ τὸν Αὐφίδιον ποταμὸν καὶ τὰς λεγομένας Κάννας, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς μάχης σημεῖον ἐξέθηκεν (ἔστι δὲ χιτὼν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος), ὥστε καὶ

Now, Paulus Aemilius was the colleague of Terentius, a man of experience in many wars, but not acceptable to the people, and crushed in spirit by a fine which they had imposed upon him. Therefore Fabius tried to rouse and encourage him to restrain the madness of his colleague, showing him that he must struggle to save his country not so much from Hannibal as from Terentius. The latter, he said, was eager to fight because he did not see where his strength lay; the former, because he saw his own weakness. "But," said he, "it is to me, O Paulus, that more credence should be given in regard to Hannibal's affairs, and I solemnly assure you that, if no one shall give him battle this year, the man will remain in Italy only to perish, or will leave it in flight, since even now, when he is thought to be victorious and to be master of the country, not one of his enemies has come over to his side, and not even so much as the third part of the force which he brought from home is still left." To this Paulus is said to have answered: "If I consult my own interests, O Fabius, it is better for me to encounter the spears of the enemy than to face again the votes of my fellow-citizens. But if the state is in such a pass, I will try to be a good general in your opinion, rather than in that of all the rest who so forcibly oppose you." With this determination, Paulus went forth to the war.

XV. But Terentius, insisting on his right to command a day in turn, and then encamping over against Hannibal by the river Aufidus and the town called Cannae, at break of day put out the signal for battle,—a scarlet tunic displayed above the general's tent. At this even the Carthaginians were con-

τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαταραχθῆναι, τήν τε τόλμαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλῆθος ὁρῶντας, αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἥμισυ μέρος
2 ὄντας. Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι κελεύσας, αὐτὸς ἱππότης μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπὲρ λόφου τινὸς μαλακοῦ κατεσκόπει τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη καθισταμένους εἰς τάξιν. εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρὸς ἰσοτίμου, τοὔνομα Γίσκωνος, ὡς θαυμαστὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ Ἀννίβας, "Ἕτερον," εἶπεν, "ὦ Γίσκων, λέληθέ σε τούτου θαυμασιώτερον." ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Γίσκωνος, τὸ ποῖον; "Ὅτι," ἔφη, "τούτων ὄντων τοσούτων
3 οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς Γίσκων καλεῖται." γενομένου δὲ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ σκώμματος ἐμπίπτει γέλως πᾶσι, καὶ κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοῖς 183
ἀπαντῶσιν ἀεὶ τὸ πεπαιγμένον ἀπαγγέλλοντες, ὥστε διὰ πολλῶν πολὺν εἶναι[1] τὸν γέλωτα καὶ μηδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς δύνασθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν. τοῦτο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἰδοῦσι θάρσος παρίστη, λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ πολλοῦ καὶ ἰσχυροῦ τοῦ καταφρονοῦντος ἐπιέναι γελᾶν οὕτως καὶ παίζειν τῷ στρατηγῷ παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον.

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ στρατηγήμασιν ἐχρήσατο, πρώτῳ μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, ποιησάμενος κατὰ νώτου τὸν ἄνεμον· πρηστῆρι γὰρ ἐοικὼς φλέγοντι κατερρήγνυτο, καὶ τραχὺν ἐκ πεδίων ὑφάμμων καὶ ἀναπεπταμένων αἴρων κονιορτὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐώθει, καὶ προσέβαλλε τοῖς προσώποις ἀποστρεφομένοις καὶ συνταραττο-

[1] εἶναι Bekker corrects, after Schaefer, to ἰέναι, *spread.*

founded at first, seeing the boldness of the Roman general and the number of his army, which was more than double their own. But Hannibal ordered his forces to arm for battle, while he himself, with a few companions, rode to the top of a gently sloping ridge, from which he watched his enemies as they formed in battle array. When one of his companions, named Gisco, a man of his own rank, remarked that the number of the enemy amazed him, Hannibal put on a serious look and said: "Gisco, another thing has escaped your notice which is more amazing still." And when Gisco asked what it was, "It is the fact," said he, "that in all this multitude there is no one who is called Gisco." The jest took them all by surprise and set them laughing, and as they made their way down from the ridge, they reported the pleasantry to all who met them, so that great numbers were laughing heartily, and Hannibal's escort could not even recover themselves. The sight of this infused courage into the Carthaginians. They reasoned that their general must have a mighty contempt for the enemy if he laughed and jested so in the presence of danger.

XVI. In the battle Hannibal practiced a double strategy. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground to put the wind at his back. This wind came down like a fiery hurricane, and raised a huge cloud of dust from the exposed and sandy plains and drove it over the Carthaginian lines hard into the faces of the Romans, who turned away

2 μένοις. δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν τάξιν· ὃ γὰρ ἦν ἰσχυρότατον αὐτῷ καὶ μαχιμώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἑκατέρωσε τοῦ μέσου τάξας, τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ συνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων, ἐμβόλῳ τούτῳ προέχοντι πολὺ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος χρησόμενος· εἴρητο δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις, ὅταν τούτους διακόψαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸ εἶκον ἐκφερομένου τοῦ μέσου καὶ κόλπον λαμβάνοντος ἐντὸς γένωνται τῆς φάλαγγος, ὀξέως ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐμβαλεῖν τε πλαγίοις καὶ περι-
3 πτύσσειν ὄπισθεν συγκλείοντας. ὃ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τὸν πλεῖστον ἀπεργάσασθαι φόνον. ὡς γὰρ ἐνέδωκε τὸ μέσον καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξαντο διώκοντας, ἡ δὲ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μεταβαλοῦσα τὸ σχῆμα μηνοειδὴς ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οἱ ταξίαρχοι ταχὺ τοὺς μὲν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίναντες προσέπεσον κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, πάντας, ὅσοι μὴ τὴν κύκλωσιν ὑπεκκλίναντες ἔφθασαν, ἐν μέσῳ κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν.

4 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμπτωμα παράλογον γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Παῦλον, ὡς ἔοικε, τρωθεὶς ὁ ἵππος ἀπεσείσατο, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον πεζὸς τῷ ὑπάτῳ προσήμυνε. τοῦτο δ' οἱ ἱππεῖς ἰδόντες, ὡς παραγγέλματος κοινοῦ δεδομένου, πάντες ἀποπηδήσαντες πεζοὶ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἰδὼν δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας, "Τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον ἠβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον."
5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας ἀπηγγέλκασι.

to avoid it, and so fell into confusion. In the second place, he formed his troops as follows: the sturdiest and most warlike part of his force he stationed on either side of the centre, and manned the centre itself with his poorest soldiers, intending to use this as a wedge jutting out far in advance of the rest of his line. But orders were given to the picked troops, when the Romans should have cut the troops in the centre to pieces, pursued them hotly as they retreated and formed a deep hollow, and so got within their enemy's line of battle,—then to turn sharply from either side, smite them on the flanks, and envelop them by closing in upon their rear. And it was this which seems to have produced the greatest slaughter. For the centre gave way and was followed by the Romans in pursuit, Hannibal's line of battle thus changing its shape into that of a crescent; and the commanders of the picked troops on his wings wheeled them swiftly to left and right and fell upon the exposed sides of their enemy, all of whom, except those who retired before they were surrounded, were then overwhelmed and destroyed.

It is said, further, that a strange calamity befell the Roman cavalry also. The horse of Paulus, as it appears, was wounded and threw his rider off, and one after another of his attendants dismounted and sought to defend the consul on foot. When the horsemen saw this, supposing that a general order had been given, they all dismounted and engaged the enemy on foot. On seeing this, Hannibal said: "This is more to my wish than if they had been handed over to me in fetters."[1] But such particulars as these may be found in the detailed histories of the war.

[1] Quam mallem vinctos mihi traderet. Livy, xxii. 49.

Τῶν δ' ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Βάρρων ὀλιγοστὸς ἀφίππευσεν εἰς Οὐενουσίαν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ βυθῷ καὶ κλύδωνι τῆς φυγῆς ἐκείνης βελῶν τε πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν ἐγκειμένων ἀνάπλεως, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πένθει τοσούτῳ βαρυνόμενος, πρός τινι λίθῳ καθῆστο, τὸν ἐπισφάξοντα
6 τῶν πολεμίων ἀναμένων. ἦν δὲ δι' αἵματος πλῆθος, ᾧ συνεπέφυρτο τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, οὐ πολλοῖς διάδηλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλοι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας παρῆλθον. μόνος δὲ Κορνήλιος Λέντλος, εὐπατρίδης νέος, ἰδὼν καὶ προνοήσας ἀπεπήδησε τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ προσαγαγὼν παρεκάλει χρῆσθαι καὶ σώζειν αὐτὸν τοῖς πολίταις ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ τότε μάλιστα χρῄ-
7 ζουσιν. ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἀπετρίψατο τὴν δέησιν, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον αὖθις ἠνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀναβῆναι δακρῦον, εἶτα δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ συνεξαναστάς, "Ἀπάγγελλε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Λέντλε, Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ γενοῦ μάρτυς αὐτός, ὅτι Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος ἐνέμεινεν αὐτοῦ[1] τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἄχρι τέλους καὶ τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲν ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνικήθη πρότερον ὑπὸ
8 Βάρρωνος, εἶθ' ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου." τοσαῦτ' ἐπιστείλας τὸν μὲν Λέντλον ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς φονευομένους ἀπέθανε. λέγονται δὲ πέσεῖν μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων πεντακισμύριοι, ζῶντες δ' ἁλῶναι τετρακισχίλιοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ληφθέντες ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους.

[1] αὐτοῦ Coraës and Bekker, now with S: *αὑτοῦ his own convictions.* Cf. praeceptorum eius memorem, Livy, xxii. 49.

As for the consuls, Varro galloped off with a few followers to the city of Venusia, but Paulus, caught in the deep surges of that panic flight and covered with many missiles which hung in his wounds, weighed down in body and spirit by so vast a misfortune, sat down, leaning against a stone, and waiting for an enemy to dispatch him. His head and face were so profusely smeared with blood that few could recognize him; even his friends and retainers passed him by without knowing him. Only Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of the patrician order, saw who he was, and leaping from his horse, led him to Paulus and besought the consul to take him and save himself for the sake of his fellow-citizens, who now more than ever needed a brave commander. But Paulus rejected this prayer, and forced the youth, all tears, to mount his horse again, and then rose up and clasped his hand and said: "Lentulus, tell Fabius Maximus, and be thyself a witness to what thou tellest, that Paulus Aemilius was true to his precepts up to the end, and broke not one of the agreements made with him, but was vanquished first by Varro, and then by Hannibal." With such injunctions, he sent Lentulus away, then threw himself into the midst of the slaughter and perished. And it is said that fifty thousand Romans fell in that battle, that four thousand were taken alive, and that after the battle there were captured in both consular camps no less than ten thousand.

XVII. Τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ κατορ- 184
θώματι τῶν φίλων παρορμώντων ἅμ' ἕπεσθαι τῇ
τύχῃ καὶ συνεπεισπεσεῖν ἅμα τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολε-
μίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πεμπταῖον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης
ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ δειπνήσειν, οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν, ὅστις
ἀπέτρεψε λογισμός, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δαίμονος ἢ θεοῦ
τινος ἐμποδὼν στάντος ἔοικεν ἔργον ἡ πρὸς τοῦτο
μέλλησις αὐτοῦ καὶ δειλίασις γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ
Βάρκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον εἰπεῖν μετ' ὀργῆς πρὸς
αὐτὸν λέγουσι· "Σὺ νικᾶν οἶδας, νίκῃ δὲ χρῆσθαι
2 οὐκ οἶδας." καίτοι τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἡ νίκη
περὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, ὡς πρὸ τῆς μάχης οὐ πόλιν,
οὐκ ἐμπόριον, οὐ λιμένα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔχοντα,
χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ
δι' ἁρπαγῆς κομιζόμενον, ὁρμώμενον ἀπ' οὐδενὸς
βεβαίου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ λῃστηρίῳ
μεγάλῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλανώμενον καὶ περιφε-
ρόμενον, τότε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιη-
3 σασθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα
τῶν ἐθνῶν αὐτῷ προσεχώρησεν ἑκούσια, καὶ
Καπύην, ἣ μέγιστον ἔχει μετὰ Ῥώμην ἀξίωμα
τῶν πόλεων, προσθεμένην κατέσχεν.

Οὐ μόνον δ' ἦν ἄρα τὸ φίλων πεῖραν λαβεῖν, ὡς
Εὐριπίδης φησίν,[1] οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
φρονίμων στρατηγῶν. ἡ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς μάχης
Φαβίου δειλία καὶ ψυχρότης λεγομένη μετὰ τὴν
μάχην εὐθὺς οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινος ἐδόκει λογισμός,
ἀλλὰ θεῖόν τι χρῆμα διανοίας καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐκ
τοσούτου τὰ μέλλοντα προορωμένης, ἃ μόλις ἦν

[1] φίλων λαβεῖν γὰρ πεῖραν οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2], p. 679.

XVII. In view of such a complete success, Hannibal's friends urged him to follow up his good fortune and dash into their city on the heels of the flying enemy, assuring him in that case that on the fifth day after his victory he would sup on the Capitol. It is not easy to say what consideration turned him from this course, nay, it would rather seem that his evil genius, or some divinity, interposed to inspire him with the hesitation and timidity which he now showed. Wherefore, as they say, Barca, the Carthaginian, said to him angrily: "Thou canst win a victory, but thy victory thou canst not use." [1] And yet his victory wrought a great change in his circumstances. Before the battle, he had not a city, not a trading-place, not a sea-port in Italy, and could with difficulty barely supply his army with provisions by foraging, since he had no secure base of supplies for the war, but wandered hither and thither with his army as if it were a great horde of robbers. After the battle, however, he brought almost all Italy under his sway. Most of its peoples, and the largest of them too, came over to him of their own accord, and Capua, which is the most considerable city after Rome, attached herself firmly to his cause.

Not only, then, does it work great mischief, as Euripides says, to put friends to the test, but also prudent generals. For that which was called cowardice and sluggishness in Fabius before the battle, immediately after the battle was thought to be no mere human calculation, nay, rather, a divine and marvellous intelligence, since it looked so far into the future and foretold a disaster which could

[1] Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis." Livy, xxii. 51.

4 πιστὰ πάσχουσιν. ὅθεν εὐθὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἡ Ῥώμη συνενεγκοῦσα τὰς λοιπὰς ἐλπίδας, καὶ προσφυγοῦσα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥσπερ ἱερῷ καὶ βωμῷ, πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ μεῖναι καὶ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τὴν ἐκείνου φρόνησιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς
5 Κελτικοῖς πάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐδόκει δεινὸν εἶναι καιροῖς εὐλαβὴς φαινόμενος καὶ δυσέλπιστος τότε πάντων καταβεβληκότων ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀπέραντα πένθη καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπράκτους, μόνος ἐφοίτα διὰ τῆς πόλεως πρᾴῳ βαδίσματι καὶ προσώπῳ καθεστῶτι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ προσαγορεύσει, κοπετούς τε γυναικείους ἀφαιρῶν καὶ συστάσεις εἴργων τῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπὶ κοινοῖς ὀδυρμοῖς ἐκφερομένων, βουλήν τε συνελθεῖν ἔπεισε καὶ παρεθάρσυνε τὰς ἀρχάς, αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ ῥώμη καὶ δύναμις ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλεπούσης.

XVIII. Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πύλαις ἐπέστησε τοὺς τὸν ἐκπίπτοντα καὶ προλείποντα τὴν πόλιν ὄχλον ἀπείρξοντας, πένθους δὲ καὶ τόπον καὶ χρόνον ὥρισε, κατ' οἰκίαν ἀποθρηνεῖν κελεύσας ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα τὸν βουλόμενον· μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἔδει πᾶν πένθος λύεσθαι καὶ καθαρεύειν τῶν
2 τοιούτων τὴν πόλιν. ἑορτῆς τε Δήμητρος εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηκούσης βέλτιον ἐφάνη παραλιπεῖν ὅλως τάς τε θυσίας καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἢ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὀλιγότητι καὶ κατηφείᾳ τῶν συνερχομένων ἐλέγχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεῖον
3 ἥδεσθαι τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχούντων. ὅσα μέντοι πρὸς ἱλασμοὺς θεῶν ἢ τεράτων ἀποτροπὰς συνηγόρευον οἱ μάντεις ἐπράττετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμφθη θεοπρόπος Πίκτωρ, συγγενὴς

hardly be believed by those who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome at once placed her last hopes; to his wisdom she fled for refuge as to temple and altar, believing that it was first and chiefly due to his prudence that she still remained a city, and was not utterly broken up, as in the troublous times of the Gallic invasion. For he who, in times of apparent security, appeared cautious and irresolute, then, when all were plunged in boundless grief and helpless confusion, was the only man to walk the city with calm step, composed countenance, and gracious address, checking effeminate lamentation, and preventing those from assembling together who were eager to make public their common complaints. He persuaded the senate to convene, heartened up the magistrates, and was himself the strength and power of every magistracy, since all looked to him for guidance.

XVIII. Accordingly, he put guards at the gates, in order to keep the frightened throng from abandoning the city, and set limits of time and place to the mourning for the dead, ordering any who wished to indulge in lamentation, to do so at home for a period of thirty days; after that, all mourning must cease and the city be purified of such rites. And since the festival of Ceres fell within these days, it was deemed better to remit entirely the sacrifices and the procession, rather than to emphasize the magnitude of their calamity by the small number and the dejection of the participants. For the gods' delight is in honours paid them by the fortunate. However, all the rites which the augurs advocated for the propitiation of the gods, or to avert inauspicious omens, were duly performed. And besides, Pictor, a kinsman of Fabius, was sent to

Φαβίου, και τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων δύο διεφθαρμένας εὑρόντες, τὴν μέν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἔθος, ζῶσαν κατώρυξαν, ἡ δ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀπέθανε.

4 Μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις ἀγάσαιτο τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν πραότητα τῆς πόλεως, ὅτε τοῦ ὑπάτου Βάρρωνος ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανιόντος, ὡς ἄν τις αἴσχιστα καὶ δυσποτμότατα πεπραχὼς ἐπανίοι, ταπεινοῦ καὶ κατηφοῦς, ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν ἀσπαζό-
5 μενοι. οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει καὶ πρῶτοι τῆς γερουσίας, ὧν καὶ Φάβιος ἦν, ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἐπῄνεσαν, 18 ὅτι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέγνω μετὰ δυστυχίαν τηλικαύτην, ἀλλὰ πάρεστιν ἄρξων ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ χρησόμενος τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὡς σώζεσθαι δυναμένοις.

XIX. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐπύθοντο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀποτετράφθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, ἀναθαρρήσαντες ἐξέπεμπον ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατεύματα. τούτων δ' ἐπιφανέστατοι Φάβιός τε Μάξιμος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος ἦσαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας σχεδὸν προαιρέσεως θαυμαζόμενοι παραπλησίως.
2 ὁ μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένοις εἴρηται, περιλαμπὲς τὸ δραστήριον ἔχων καὶ γαῦρον, ἅτε δὴ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα πλήκτης ἀνὴρ καὶ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὢν οἷους Ὅμηρος μάλιστα καλεῖ "φιλοπτολέμους" καὶ "ἀγερώχους," ἐν τῷ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἰταμῷ καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα τολμηρὸν τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀντιτολμῶντι τρόπῳ πολέμου συνίστατο
3 τοὺς πρώτους ἀγῶνας· Φάβιος δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐχόμενος λογισμῶν ἐκείνων ἤλπιζε μηδενὸς μαχομένου μηδ' ἐρεθίζοντος τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὐτὸν ἐπη-

consult the oracle at Delphi; and when two of the vestal virgins were found to have been corrupted, one of them was buried alive, according to the custom,[1] and the other slew herself.

But most of all was the gentle dignity of the city to be admired in this, that when Varro, the consul, came back from his flight, as one would come back from a most ill-starred and disgraceful experience, in humility and dejection, the senate and the whole people met him at the gates with a welcome. The magistrates and the chief men of the senate, of whom Fabius was one, praised him, as soon as quiet was restored, because he had not despaired of the city after so great a misfortune, but was at hand to assume the reins of government, and to employ the laws and his fellow-citizens in accomplishing the salvation which lay within their power.

XIX. When they learned that Hannibal, after the battle, had turned aside into the other parts of Italy, they plucked up courage and sent out commanders with armies. The most illustrious of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men who were similarly admired for directly opposite characters. The latter, as has been stated in his Life,[2] was a man of splendid and impetuous actions, with an arm of ready vigour, and by nature like the men whom Homer is wont to call "fond of battle," and "eager for the fray." He therefore conducted his first engagements in the venturesome and reckless style of warfare which met the daring of such a man as Hannibal with an equal daring. Fabius, on the contrary, clung to his first and famous convictions, and looked to see Hannibal, if only no one

[1] Cf. *Numa*, x. 4 ff. [2] Chapter i.

ρεάσειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ κατατριβήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ ἀθλητικοῦ σώματος τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπερτόνου γενομένης καὶ καταπόνου, ταχύτατα τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀποβαλόντα. διὸ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Ποσειδώνιός φησι θυρεόν, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ξίφος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλεῖσθαι, κιρναμένην δὲ τὴν Φαβίου βεβαιότητα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Μαρκέλλου συνηθείᾳ[1] σωτήριον γενέσθαι
4 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῷ μὲν ὡς ῥέοντι σφόδρα ποταμῷ πολλάκις ἁπαντῶν ἐσείετο καὶ παρερρήγνυτο τὴν δύναμιν, ὑφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέοντος ἀψοφητὶ καὶ παρεμπίπτοντος ἐνδελεχῶς ὑπερειπόμενος καὶ δαπανώμενος ἐλάνθανε· καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν κατέστη τοσαύτην ὥστε Μαρκέλλῳ μὲν ἀποκαμεῖν μαχόμενον, Φάβιον δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μαχόμενον.

5 Τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τοῦ χρόνου τούτοις διεπολέμησεν ἢ στρατηγοῖς ἢ ἀνθυπάτοις ἢ ὑπάτοις ἀποδεδειγμένοις· ἑκάτερος γὰρ αὐτῶν πεντάκις ὑπάτευσεν. ἀλλὰ Μάρκελλον μὲν ὑπατεύοντα τὸ πέμπτον ἐνέδρᾳ περιβαλὼν ἔκτεινε, Φαβίῳ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀπάτην καὶ διάπειραν ἐπάγων πολλάκις οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, πλὴν ἅπαξ ὀλίγου παρακρουσά-
6 μενος ἔσφηλε τὸν ἄνδρα. συνθεὶς γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ δυνατῶν καὶ πρώτων ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον, ὡς τῆς πόλεως ἐνδοθησομένης εἰ παραγένοιτο, καὶ τῶν τοῦτο πραττόντων ἐκεῖνον ἐλθεῖν καὶ φανῆναι πλησίον

[1] *συνηθείᾳ* Bekker adopts *συντονίᾳ* (*vehemence*), the suggestion of Coraës, based on Amyot.

fought with him or harassed him, become his own worst enemy, wear himself out in the war, and speedily lose his high efficiency, like an athlete whose bodily powers have been overtaxed and exhausted. It was for these reasons, as Poseidonius says, that the Romans called Fabius their buckler, and Marcellus their sword, and that the mingling of the firm steadfastness of the one with the versatility of the other proved the salvation of Rome. By his frequent encounters with Marcellus, whose course was like that of a swiftly-flowing river, Hannibal saw his forces shaken and swept away; while by Fabius, whose course was slow, noiseless, and unceasing in its stealthy hostility, they were imperceptibly worn away and consumed. And finally he was brought to such a pass that he was worn out with fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius when not fighting.

For it was with these two men that he fought almost all the time, as they held the offices of praetor, pro-consul, or consul; and each of them was consul five times. However, when Marcellus was serving as consul for the fifth time, Hannibal led him into an ambush and slew him[1]; but he had no success against Fabius, although he frequently brought all sorts of deceitful tests to bear upon him. Once, it is true, he did deceive the man, and came near giving him a disastrous overthrow. He composed and sent to Fabius letters purporting to come from the chief men of Metapontum, assuring him that their city would be surrendered to him if he should come there, and that those who were contriving the surrender only waited for him to come and show

[1] In Lucania, 208 B.C. Cf. the *Marcellus*, xxix.

ἀναμενόντων. ταῦτ' ἐκίνησε τὸν Φάβιον τὰ γράμματα, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔμελλεν ὁρμήσειν διὰ νυκτός· εἶτα χρησάμενος ὄρνισιν οὐκ αἰσίοις ἀπετράπη, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀννίβου δόλῳ συντεθέντα κἀκεῖνος ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄν τις εὐνοίᾳ θεῶν ἀναθείη.

XX. Τὰς δ' ἀποστάσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῶν συμμάχων ὁ Φάβιος μᾶλλον ᾤετο δεῖν ἠπίως ὁμιλοῦντα καὶ πράως ἀνείργειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν, μὴ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐλέγχοντα καὶ χαλεπὸν ὄντα παντάπασι τοῖς ὑπόπτοις. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι στρατιώτην ἄνδρα Μάρσον, ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ γένει τῶν συμμάχων πρῶτον, αἰσθόμενος διειλεγμένον τισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περὶ ἀποστά-
2 σεως οὐ διηρέθισεν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογήσας ἠμελῆσθαι παρ' ἀξίαν αὐτόν, νῦν μὲν ἔφη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰτιᾶσθαι πρὸς χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὰς τιμὰς νέμοντας, ὕστερον δ' ἐκεῖνον αἰτιάσεσθαι μὴ φράζοντα μηδ' ἐντυγχάνοντα πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴ του δέοιτο. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἵππον τε πολεμιστὴν ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστείοις ἐκόσμησεν, ὥστε πιστότατον ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ προθυμότατον
3 εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. δεινὸν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν ἱππικοὺς καὶ κυνηγετικοὺς ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ καὶ τροφῇ μᾶλλον ἢ μάστιξι καὶ κλοιοῖς τὴν 180
χαλεπότητα τῶν ζῴων καὶ τὸ θυμούμενον καὶ τὸ δυσκολαίνον ἐξαιρεῖν, τὸν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντα μὴ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν χάριτι καὶ πραότητι τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τίθεσθαι, σκληρότερον δὲ προσ-

himself in the neighbourhood. These letters moved Fabius to action, and he proposed to take a part of his force and set out by night. Then he got unfavourable auspices and was turned from his purpose by them, and in a little while it was discovered that the letters which had come to him were cunning forgeries by Hannibal, who had laid an ambush for him near the city. This escape, however, may be laid to the favour of the gods.

XX. Fabius thought that the revolts of the cities and the agitations of the allies ought to be restrained and discountenanced rather by mild and gentle measures, without testing every suspicion and showing harshness in every case to the suspected. It is said, for instance, that when he learned about a Marsian soldier, eminent among the allies for valour and high birth, who had been talking with some of the soldiers in the camp about deserting to the enemy, he was not incensed with him, but admitted frankly that he had been unduly neglected; so far, he said, this was the fault of the commanders, who distributed their honours by favour rather than for valour, but in the future it would be the man's own fault if he did not come to him and tell him when he wanted anything. These words were followed by the gift of a warhorse and by other signal rewards for bravery, and from that time on there was no more faithful and zealous man in the service. Fabius thought it hard that, whereas the trainers of horses and dogs relied upon care and intimacy and feeding rather than on goads and heavy collars for the removal of the animal's obstinacy, anger, and discontent, the commander of men should not base the most of his discipline on kindness and gentleness, but

φέρεσθαι καὶ βιαιότερον ἢπερ οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἐρινεοῖς καὶ ἀχράσι καὶ κοτίνοις προσφέρονται, τὰ μὲν εἰς ἐλαίας, τὰ δ' εἰς ἀπίους, τὰ δ' εἰς συκᾶς ἐξημεροῦντες καὶ τιθασεύοντες.

4 Ἕτερον τοίνυν τῷ γένει Λευκανὸν ἄνδρα προσήγγειλαν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ῥεμβόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείποντα πολλάκις. ὁ δ' ἠρώτησε, τἆλλα ποῖόν τινα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰδεῖεν ὄντα. μαρτυρούντων δὲ πάντων ὅτι ῥᾳδίως ἕτερος οὐκ εἴη στρατιώτης τοιοῦτος, ἅμα τ' αὐτοῦ τινας ἀνδραγαθίας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ πράξεις λεγόντων, αἰτίαν τῆς ἀταξίας ζητῶν εὗρεν ἔρωτι παιδίσκης κατεχόμενον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κινδυνεύοντα μακρὰς ὁδοὺς ἑκάστοτε φοιτῶντα
5 πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πέμψας οὖν τινας ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαβὼν τὸ γύναιον ἔκρυψεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Λευκανὸν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, "Οὐ λέληθας," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πάτρια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀπονυκτερεύων τοῦ στρατοπέδου πολλάκις· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρηστὸς ὢν πρότερον ἐλελήθεις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα σοι λελύσθω τοῖς ἠνδραγαθημένοις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
6 ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ ποιήσομαι τὴν φρουράν." θαυμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατιώτου προαγαγὼν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐνεχείρισεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν· "Αὕτη μὲν ἐγγυᾶταί σε μενεῖν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μεθ' ἡμῶν· σὺ δ' ἔργῳ δείξεις, εἰ μὴ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ μοχθηρίαν ἀπέλειπες, ὁ δ' ἔρως καὶ αὕτη πρόφασις ἦν λεγομένη." ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι.

XXI. Τὴν δὲ Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἔσχεν ἑαλω-

show more harshness and violence in his treatment of them than farmers in their treatment of wild fig-trees, wild pear-trees, and wild olive-trees, which they reclaim and domesticate till they bear luscious olives, pears, and figs.

Accordingly, when another soldier, a Lucanian, was reported by his officers as frequently quitting his post and roaming away from the camp, Fabius asked them what kind of a man they knew him to be in other respects. All testified that such another soldier could not easily be found, and rehearsed sundry exploits of his wherein he had shown conspicuous bravery. Fabius therefore inquired into the cause of the man's irregularity, and discovered that he was deeply in love with a maid, and risked his life in long journeys from the camp every time he visited her. Accordingly, without the man's knowledge, Fabius sent and arrested the girl and hid her in his own tent. Then he called the Lucanian to him privately and said: "It is well known that, contrary to Roman custom and law, you often pass the night away from camp; but it is also well known that you have done good service in the past. Your transgressions shall therefore be atoned for by your deeds of valour, but for the future I shall put another person in charge over you." Then, to the soldier's amazement, he led the girl forth and put her in his hands, saying: "This person pledges herself that you will hereafter remain in camp with us, and you will now show plainly whether or not you left us for some other and base purpose, making this maid and your love for her a mere pretext." Such is the story which is told about this matter.

XXI. The city of Tarentum, which had been lost

κυΐαν ἐκ προδοσίας τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἐστρατεύετο παρ' αὐτῷ νεανίας Ταραντῖνος ἔχων ἀδελφὴν πιστῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοστόργως διακειμένην πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦρα δὲ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Βρέττιος τῶν τεταγμένων ὑπ' Ἀννίβου τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας. τοῦτο πράξεως ἐλπίδα τῷ Ταραντίνῳ παρέσχε, καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου συνειδότος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφείθη, λόγῳ δ' ἀποδεδράκει πρὸς τὴν
2 ἀδελφὴν εἰς Τάραντα. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦσαν, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ Βρέττιος ἀνεπαύετο, λανθάνειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἰομένης ἐκείνης. ἔπειτα λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ νεανίας· "Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖ λόγος ἐφοίτα πολὺς ἀνδρί σε τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ μεγάλων συνεῖναι. τίς οὗτός ἐστιν; εἰ γὰρ εὐδόκιμός τις, ὥς φασιν, ἀρετῇ καὶ λαμπρός, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζει γένους ὁ πάντα συμμιγνὺς πόλεμος· αἰσχρὸν δὲ μετ' ἀνάγκης οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εὐτυχία τις ἐν καιρῷ τὸ δίκαιον ἀσθενὲς ἔχοντι πραοτάτῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ βιαζο-
3 μένῳ." ἐκ τούτου μεταπέμπεται μὲν ἡ γυνὴ τὸν Βρέττιον καὶ γνωρίζει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ· ταχὺ δὲ συμπράττων τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκεῖνος καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον εὔνουν καὶ χειροήθη τῷ βαρβάρῳ παρέχειν δοκῶν τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἔσχε πιστῶς, ὥστε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἐρῶντος ἀνθρώπου μισθοφόρου μεταστῆσαι διάνοιαν ἐπ' ἐλπίσι δωρεῶν μεγάλων, ἃς ἐπηγγέλλετο παρέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν Φάβιον.

to the Romans by treachery,[1] Fabius recovered in the following manner.[2] There was a young man of Tarentum in his army, and he had a sister who was very faithfully and affectionately disposed towards him. With this woman the commander of the forces set by Hannibal to guard the city, a Bruttian, was deeply enamoured, and the circumstance led her brother to hope that he could accomplish something by means of it. He therefore joined his sister in Tarentum, ostensibly as a deserter from the Romans, though he was really sent into the city by Fabius, who was privy to his scheme. Some days passed, accordingly, during which the Bruttian remained at home, since the woman thought that her amour was unknown to her brother. Then her brother had the following words with her: "I would have you know that a story was very current out there in the Roman camp that you have interviews with a man high in authority. Who is this man? For if he is, as they say, a man of repute, and illustrious for his valour, war, that confounder of all things, makes very little account of race. Nothing is disgraceful if it is done under compulsion, nay, we may count it rare good fortune, at a time when right is weak, to find might very gentle with us." Thereupon the woman sent for her Bruttian and made her brother acquainted with him. The Barbarian's confidence was soon gained, since the brother fostered his passion and plainly induced the sister to be more complacent and submissive to him than before, so that it was not difficult, the man being a lover and a mercenary as well, to change his allegiance, in anticipation of the large gifts which it was promised that he should receive from Fabius.

[1] 212 B.C. [2] 209 B.C.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι γράφουσι περὶ τούτων· ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν ἄνθρωπον ὑφ' ἧς ὁ Βρέττιος μετήχθη, φασὶν οὐ Ταραντίνην, ἀλλὰ Βρεττίαν τὸ γένος οὖσαν, τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ παλλακευομένην, ὡς ᾔσθετο πολίτην καὶ γνώριμον ὄντα τὸν τῶν Βρεττίων ἄρχοντα, τῷ τε Φαβίῳ φράσαι καὶ συνελθοῦσαν εἰς λόγους ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκπεῖσαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

XXII. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ Φάβιος περισπάσαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν τεχνάζων ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐν Ῥηγίῳ στρατιώταις τὴν Βρεττίαν καταδραμεῖν καὶ Καυλωνίαν ἐξελεῖν κατὰ κράτος στρατο- 187
πεδεύσαντας, ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας, αὐτομόλους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου κεκομισμένων ἀτίμων τοὺς ἀχρηστοτάτους καὶ μετ' ἐλαχίστης τῇ πόλει λύπης καὶ
2 βλάβης ἀπολουμένους. ἤλπιζε γὰρ τούτους προέμενος τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ δελεάσας ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τάραντος· ὃ καὶ συνέβαινεν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκεῖ διώκων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐρρύη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἡμέρᾳ δ' ἕκτῃ τοὺς Ταραντίνους τοῦ Φαβίου περιστρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ προδιειλεγμένος τῷ Βρεττίῳ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς νεανίσκος ἦκε νύκτωρ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθεωρακὼς τὸν τόπον ἐφ' οὗ παραφυλάττων ὁ Βρέττιος ἔμελλεν ἐνδώσειν καὶ παρήσειν τοῖς
3 προσβάλλουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἁπλῶς γε τῆς προδοσίας ἐξήρτησεν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκεῖσε παρελθὼν ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἡ δ' ἄλλη στρατιὰ προσέβαλλε τοῖς τείχεσιν ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἅμα, ποιοῦσα πολλὴν κραυγὴν

This is the way the story is usually told.[1] But some writers say that the woman by whom the Bruttian was won over, was not a Tarentine, but a Bruttian, and a concubine of Fabius, and that when she learned that the commander of the Bruttian garrison was a fellow-countryman and an acquaintance of hers, she told Fabius, held a conference with the man beneath the walls of the city, and won him completely over.

XXII. While this plot was under way, Fabius schemed to draw Hannibal away from the neighbourhood, and therefore gave orders to the garrison at Rhegium to overrun Bruttium and take Caulonia by storm. This garrison numbered eight thousand, most of them deserters, and the refuse of the soldiers sent home from Sicily in disgrace by Marcellus, men whose loss would least afflict and injure Rome. Fabius expected that by casting these forces, like a bait, in front of Hannibal, he would draw him away from Tarentum. And this was what actually happened. For Hannibal immediately swept thither in pursuit with his army. But five days after Fabius had laid siege to Tarentum, the youth who, with his sister, had come to an understanding with the Bruttian commander in the city, came to him by night. He had seen and knew precisely the spot at which the Bruttian was watching with the purpose of handing the city over to its assailants. Fabius, however, would not suffer his enterprise to depend wholly upon the betrayal of the city. While, therefore, he himself led a detachment quietly to the appointed spot, the rest of his army attacked the walls by land and sea, with great shouting and

[1] So, substantially, by Livy, xxvii. 15.

καὶ θόρυβον, ἄχρι οὗ τῶν πλείστων Ταραντίνων ἐκεῖ βοηθούντων καὶ συμφερομένων τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἐσήμηνε τῷ Φαβίῳ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Βρέττιος, καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβὰς ἐκράτησε τῆς πολεως.

4 Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι δοκεῖ φιλοτιμίας ἧττων γενέσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ Βρεττίους πρώτους ἀποσφάττειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ προδοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἔχων φανερὸς γένοιτο. καὶ ταύτης τε διήμαρτε τῆς δόξης καὶ διαβολὴν ἀπιστίας προσέλαβε καὶ ὠμοτητος. ἀπέθανον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων· οἱ δὲ πραθέντες ἐγένοντο τρισμύριοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡ στρατιὰ διήρπασεν· ἀνηνέχθη δ'
5 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τρισχίλια τάλαντα. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων λέγεται τὸν γραμματέα πυθέσθαι τοῦ Φαβίου περὶ τῶν θεῶν τί κελεύει, τὰς γραφὰς οὕτω προσαγορεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας· τὸν οὖν Φάβιον εἰπεῖν· "'Απολείπωμεν τοὺς θεοὺς Ταραντίνοις κεχολω-
6 μένους." οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μετακομίσας ἐκ Τάραντος ἔστησεν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ πλησίον ἔφιππον εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἑαυτοῦ, πολὺ Μαρκέλλου φανεὶς ἀποπώτερος περὶ ταῦτα, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως ἐκεῖνον ἄνδρα πραότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ θαυμαστὸν ἀποδείξας, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

XXIII. Ἀννίβαν δὲ λέγεται διώκοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνοις ἀπολειφθῆναι σταδίοις, καὶ

tumult, until most of the Tarentines had run to the aid of those who were defending them. Then the Bruttian gave Fabius the signal, and he scaled the walls and got the mastery of the city.

At this point, however, Fabius seems to have been overcome by his ambition, for he ordered his men to put the Bruttians first of all to the sword, that his possession of the city might not be known to be due to treachery. He not only failed to prevent this knowledge, but incurred also the reproach of perfidy and cruelty. Many of the Tarentines also were slain, thirty thousand of them were sold into slavery, their city was plundered by the Roman army, and three thousand talents were thereby brought into the public treasury. While everything else was carried off as plunder, it is said that the accountant asked Fabius what his orders were concerning the gods, for so he called their pictures and statues; and that Fabius answered: "Let us leave their angered gods for the Tarentines." However, he removed the colossal statue of Heracles from Tarentum, and set it up on the Capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself, in bronze. He thus appeared far more eccentric in these matters than Marcellus, nay rather, the mild and humane conduct of Marcellus was thus made to seem altogether admirable by contrast, as has been written in his Life.[1]

XXIII. It is said that Hannibal had got within five miles of Tarentum when it fell, and that openly

[1] Chapter xxi. Marcellus had enriched Rome with works of Greek art taken from Syracuse in 212 B.C. Livy's opinion is rather different from Plutarch's: sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus, xxvii. 16. Fabius killed the people but spared their gods; Marcellus spared the people but took their gods.

φανερῶς μὲν εἰπεῖν· "Ἦν ἄρα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Ἀννίβας τις ἕτερος· ἀπεβάλομεν γὰρ τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ὥσπερ ἐλάβομεν," ἰδίᾳ δὲ τότε πρῶτον αὐτῷ παραστῆναι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς πάλαι μὲν ἑώρα χαλεπὸν αὐτοῖς, νῦν δ' ἀδύνατον
2 κρατεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων Ἰταλίας. τοῦτον δεύτερον θρίαμβον ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρότερον τοῦ προτέρου Φάβιος, ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς ἀγαθὸς ἐπαγωνιζόμενος τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπολυόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις, ὥσπερ ἄμματα καὶ λαβὰς οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχούσας τόνον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀνεῖτο τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῷ διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ πλοῦτον, ἡ δ' ὥσπερ ἐξήμβλυντο καὶ κατατέτριπτο τοῖς ἀλωφήτοις ἀγῶσιν.
3 Ἦν δὲ Μάρκος Λίβιος, οὗ τὸν Τάραντα φρουροῦντος ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπέστησεν· ὅμως δὲ τὴν ἄκραν κατέχων οὐκ ἐξεκρούσθη, καὶ διεφύλαξεν ἄχρι τοῦ πάλιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι τοὺς Ταραντίνους. τοῦτον ἠνία Φάβιος τιμώμενος, καί ποτε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐξενεχθεὶς εἶπεν ὡς οὐ Φάβιος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αἴτιος γένοιτο τοῦ τὴν Ταραντίνων ἁλῶναι. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Φάβιος, "Ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ γὰρ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ παρέλαβον."

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τά τ' ἄλλα τῷ Φαβίῳ προσεφέροντο λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Φάβιον ἀνέδειξαν ὕπατον. παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διοικοῦντός τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν 18
πόλεμον ὁ πατήρ, εἴτε διὰ γῆρας καὶ ἀσθένειαν

he merely remarked: "It appears, then, that the Romans have another Hannibal, for we have lost Tarentum even as we took it"; but that in private he was then for the first time led to confess to his friends that he had long seen the difficulty, and now saw the impossibility of their mastering Italy with their present forces. For this success, Fabius celebrated a second triumph more splendid than his first, since he was contending with Hannibal like a clever athlete, and easily baffling all his undertakings, now that his hugs and grips no longer had their old time vigour. For his forces were partly enervated by luxury and wealth,[1] and partly blunted, as it were, and worn out by their unremitting struggles.

Now there was a certain Marcus Livius, who commanded the garrison of Tarentum when Hannibal got the city to revolt. He occupied the citadel, however, and was not dislodged from this position, but held it until the Romans again got the upper hand of the Tarentines. This man was vexed by the honours paid to Fabius, and once, carried away by his jealousy and ambition, said to the Senate that it was not Fabius, but himself, who should be credited with the capture of Tarentum. At this Fabius laughed, and said: "You are right; had you not lost the city, I had not taken it."

XXIV. Among the other marks of high favour which the Romans conferred upon Fabius, they made his son Fabius consul.[2] When this son had entered upon his office and was arranging some matter pertaining to the war, his father, either by reason of his age and weakness, or because he was

[1] In 216–215 B.C. Hannibal made the opulent city of Capua his winter quarters. [2] 213 B.C.

εἴτε διαπειρώμενος τοῦ παιδός, ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον προσῄει διὰ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ περιεστώτων. ὁ δὲ νεανίας κατιδὼν πόρρωθεν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, πέμψας δ' ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευσε καταβῆναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δι' αὑτοῦ προσελθεῖν, εἰ δή τι τυγχά-
2 νει τῆς ἀρχῆς δεόμενος. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἠνίασε τὸ ἐπίταγμα, καὶ σιωπῇ πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον ὡς ἀνάξια πάσχοντα τῆς δόξης ἀπέβλεψαν· αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀποπηδήσας κατὰ τάχος, θᾶττον ἢ βάδην πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπειχθείς, καὶ περιβαλὼν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, "Εὖ γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, φρονεῖς καὶ πράττεις, αἰσθόμενος τίνων ἄρχεις καὶ πηλίκης μέγεθος ἀνείληφας ἀρχῆς. οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι τὴν Ῥώμην ηὐξήσαμεν, ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ γονεῖς καὶ παῖδας ἀεὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος καλῶν τιθέμενοι."

3 Λέγεται δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν πρόπαππον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει μεγίστῃ Ῥωμαίων γενόμενον πεντάκις μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπατεῦσαι καὶ θριάμβους ἐκ πολέμων μεγίστων ἐπιφανεστάτους καταγαγεῖν, ὑπατεύοντι δ' υἱῷ πρεσβευτὴν συνεξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ τῷ θριάμβῳ τὸν μὲν εἰσελαύνειν ἐπὶ τεθρίππῳ, τὸν δ' ἵππον ἔχοντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀγαλλόμενον ὅτι τοῦ μὲν υἱοῦ κύριος, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν μέγιστος καὶ ὢν καὶ προσαγορευόμενος, ὕστερον αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τίθησιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτων μόνον θαυμαστὸς ἦν.

putting his son to the test, mounted his horse and rode towards him through the throng of bystanders. The young man caught sight of his father at a distance and would not suffer what he did, but sent a lictor with orders for him to dismount and come to the consul on foot if he had any need of his offices. All the rest were offended at this command, and implied by their silent gaze at Fabius that this treatment of him was unworthy of his high position. But Fabius himself sprang quickly from his horse, almost ran to his son, and embraced him affectionately. "My son," he said, "you are right in thought and act. You understand what a people has made you its officer, and what a high office you have received from them. It was in this spirit that our fathers and we ourselves have exalted Rome, a spirit which makes parents and children ever secondary to our country's good."[1]

And of a truth it is reported of the great-grandfather of our Fabius, that though he had the greatest reputation and influence in Rome, and though he had himself been consul five times and had celebrated the most splendid triumphs for the greatest wars, he nevertheless, when his son was consul, went forth to war with him as his lieutenant,[2] and in the triumph that followed, while the son entered the city on a four-horse chariot, the father followed on horseback with the rest of the train, exulting in the fact that, though he was master of his son, and was the greatest of the citizens both in name and in fact, he yet put himself beneath the law and its official. However, this was not the only admirable thing about him.

[1] "Experiri volui, fili, satin scires consulem te esse." Livy, xxiv. 44. [2] 292 B.C.

4 Τοῦ δὲ Φαβίου τὸν υἱὸν ἀποθανεῖν συνέβη· καὶ τὴν μὲν συμφορὰν ὡς ἀνὴρ τε φρόνιμος καὶ πατὴρ χρηστὸς ἤνεγκε μετριώτατα, τὸ δ' ἐγκώμιον, ὃ ταῖς ἐκκομιδαῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐπιτελοῦσιν, αὐτὸς εἶπε καταστὰς ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ γράψας τὸν λόγον ἐξέδωκεν.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σκηπίων Κορνήλιος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν πεμφθεὶς Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐξήλασε μάχαις πολλαῖς κρατήσας, ἔθνη δὲ πάμπολλα καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ πράγματα λαμπρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κτησάμενος εὔνοιαν εἶχε καὶ δόξαν ἐπανελθὼν ὅσην ἄλλος οὐδείς, ὕπατος δὲ κατασταθεὶς καὶ τὸν δῆμον αἰσθόμενος μεγάλην ἀπαιτοῦντα καὶ προσ-
2 δεχόμενον πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ,[1] τὸ μὲν αὐτόθι συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἀρχαῖον ἡγεῖτο λίαν καὶ πρεσβυτικόν, αὐτὴν δὲ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην εὐθὺς ἐμπλήσας ὅπλων καὶ στρατευμάτων διενοεῖτο πορθεῖν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκεῖ μεθιστάναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο παντὶ τῷ θυμῷ συνεξώρμα τὸν δῆμον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Φάβιος ἐπὶ πᾶν δέους ἄγων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνοήτου καὶ νέου φερομένην εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον καὶ μέγιστον κίνδυ-
3 νον, οὔτε λόγου φειδόμενος οὔτ' ἔργου δοκοῦντος ἀποτρέψειν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ἔπεισε, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ διὰ φθόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ Σκηπίωνος εὐημεροῦντος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι, μή τι μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξεργασαμένου καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ παντάπασιν ἀνελόντος ἢ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντος

[1] αὐτοῦ Bekker corrects to παρ' αὐτοῦ.

But the son of our Fabius, as it happened, died, and this affliction he bore with equanimity, like a wise man and a good father. The funeral oration, which is pronounced at the obsequies of illustrious men by some kinsman, he delivered himself from his place in the forum, and then wrote out the speech and published it.[1]

XXV. But now Cornelius Scipio was sent into Spain, where he not only conquered the Carthaginians in many battles, and drove them out of the country, but also won over a multitude of nations, and took great cities with splendid spoils, so that, on his return to Rome, he enjoyed an incomparable favour and fame, and was made consul.[2] Perceiving that the people demanded and expected a great achievement from him, he regarded the hand to hand struggle with Hannibal there in Italy as very antiquated and senile policy, and purposed to fill Libya at once, and the territory of Carthage itself, with Roman arms and soldiery, and ravage them, and thus to transfer the war from Italy thither. To this policy he urged the people with all his soul. But just at this point Fabius tried to fill the city with all sorts of fear. They were hurrying, he said, under the guidance of a foolhardy young man, into the remotest and greatest peril, and he spared neither word nor deed which he thought might deter the citizens from this course. He brought the senate over to his views; but the people thought that he attacked Scipio through jealousy of his success, and that he was afraid lest, if Scipio performed some great and glorious exploit and either put an end to the war entirely or removed it out of Italy, his own

[1] Cf. chapter i. 5. [2] 205 B.C.

αὐτὸς ἀργὸς φανῇ καὶ μαλακὸς ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ μὴ[1] διαπεπολεμηκώς.

4 Ἔοικε δ' ὁρμῆσαι μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Φάβιος πρὸς τὸ ἀντιλέγειν ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ προνοίας, μέγαν ὄντα δεδιὼς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐντεῖναι δέ πως μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν καὶ πορρωτέρω προαχθῆναι φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ, κωλύων τοῦ Σκηπίωνος τὴν αὔξησιν, ὅς γε καὶ Κράσσον ἔπειθε, τὸν συνυπατεύοντα τῷ Σκηπίωνι, μὴ παρεῖναι τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδ' ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτόν, εἰ δόξειεν, ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους περαιοῦσθαι, καὶ χρή-
5 ματα δοθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ εἴασε. χρήματα μὲν οὖν Σκηπίων ἑαυτῷ πορίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ἤγειρε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων ἰδίᾳ 189
πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείως διακειμένων καὶ χαριζομένων· Κράσσον δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡ φύσις οὐκ ὄντα φιλόνεικον, ἀλλὰ πρᾷον, οἴκοι κατεῖχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ νόμος θεῖος ἱερωσύνην ἔχοντα τὴν μεγίστην.

XXVI. Αὖθις οὖν καθ' ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἀπαντῶν ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Σκηπίωνι κατεκώλυε τοὺς ὁρμωμένους αὐτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι τῶν νέων καὶ κατεῖχεν, ἔν τε ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις βοῶν ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἀννίβαν ἀποδιδράσκοι μόνος ὁ Σκηπίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκπλέοι λαβὼν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δημαγωγῶν ἐλπίσι τοὺς νέους καὶ ἀναπείθων ἀπολιπεῖν γονέας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πόλιν, ἧς ἐν θύραις ἐπικρατῶν καὶ ἀήττητος ὁ πολέμιος κάθηται. καὶ μέντοι ταῦτα
2 λέγων ἐφόβησε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μόνοις αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατεύμασι

[1] μὴ supplied by Sintenis[2] and Bekker.

failure to end the war after all these years would be attributed to sloth and cowardice.

Now it is likely that Fabius began this opposition out of his great caution and prudence, in fear of the danger, which was great; but that he grew more violent and went to greater lengths in his opposition out of ambition and rivalry, in an attempt to check the rising influence of Scipio. For he even tried to persuade Crassus, Scipio's colleague in the consulship, not to surrender the command of the army and not to yield to Scipio, but to proceed in person against Carthage, if that policy were adopted. He also prevented the granting of moneys for the war. As for moneys, since he was obliged to provide them for himself, Scipio collected them on his private account from the cities of Etruria, which were devotedly attached to him; and as for Crassus, it was partly his nature, which was not contentious, but gentle, that kept him at home, and partly also a religious custom, for he was pontifex maximus, or High Priest.

XXVI. Accordingly, Fabius took another way to oppose Scipio, and tried to hinder and restrain the young men who were eager to serve under him, crying out in sessions of the senate and the assembly that it was not Scipio himself only who was running away from Hannibal, but that he was sailing off from Italy with her reserve forces, playing upon the hopes of her young men, and persuading them to abandon their parents, their wives, and their city, although the enemy still sat at her gates, masterful and undefeated. And verily he frightened the Romans with these speeches, and they decreed that Scipio should employ only the forces which were then in Sicily, and take with him only three hundred of the

καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γεγονότων μετ' αὐτοῦ τριακοσίους ἄγειν, οἷς ἐχρῆτο πιστοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ὁ Φάβιος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σκηπίωνος εἰς Λιβύην διαβάντος εὐθὺς ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ πράξεις ὑπερήφανοι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπηγγέλλοντο, καὶ μαρτυροῦντα ταῖς φήμαις εἵπετο λάφυρα πολλά, 3 καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Νομάδων αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ δύο στρατοπέδων ὑφ' ἕνα καιρὸν ἐμπρήσεις καὶ φθορὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶν δ' ὅπλων καὶ ἵππων ἐν αὐτοῖς συγκατακεκαυμένων, καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπέμποντο παρὰ Καρχηδονίων καλούντων καὶ δεομένων ἐάσαντα τὰς 4 ἀτελεῖς ἐκείνας ἐλπίδας οἴκαδε βοηθεῖν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πάντων ἐχόντων τὸν Σκηπίωνα διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, Φάβιος ἠξίου πέμπεσθαι Σκηπίωνι διάδοχον, ἄλλην μὲν οὐκ ἔχων πρόφασιν, εἰπὼν δὲ τὸ μνημονευόμενον, ὡς ἐπισφαλές ἐστι πιστεύειν ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς τύχῃ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα, χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἀεὶ εὐτυχεῖν τὸν αὐτόν, οὕτω προσέκρουσεν ἤδη πολλοῖς, ὡς δύσκολος ἀνὴρ καὶ βάσκανος ἢ πάμπαν ὑπὸ γήρως ἄτολμος γεγονὼς καὶ δύσελπις, περαιτέρω τε τοῦ 5 μετρίου κατατεθαμβημένος τὸν Ἀννίβαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκπλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἴασε τὸ χαῖρον καὶ τεθαρρηκὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀθόρυβον καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ τότε δὴ μάλιστα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει θεούσῃ παρὰ τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγε·

men who had been with him in Spain,—men who had served him faithfully. In this course, at any rate, Fabius seems to have been influenced by his own cautious temper.

But as soon as Scipio had crossed into Africa, tidings were brought[1] to Rome of wonderful achievements and of exploits transcendent in magnitude and splendour. These reports were confirmed by abundant spoils which followed them; the king of Numidia was taken captive; two of the enemy's camps were at once destroyed by fire, and in them a great number of men, arms, and horses; embassies were sent from Carthage to Hannibal urgently calling upon him to give up his fruitless hopes in Italy and come to the aid of his native city;[2] and when every tongue in Rome was dwelling on the theme of Scipio's successes, then Fabius demanded that a successor should be sent out to replace him. He gave no other reason, but urged the well remembered maxim that it was dangerous to entrust such vast interests to the fortune of a single man, since it was difficult for the same man to have good fortune always. By this course he gave offence now to many, who thought him a captious and malicious man, or one whose old age had robbed him utterly of courage and confidence, so that he was immoderately in awe of Hannibal. For not even after Hannibal and his army had sailed away from Italy[3] would he suffer the rejoicing and fresh courage of the citizens to be undisturbed and assured, but then even more than ever he insisted that the city was running into extremest peril and that her affairs were in a dangerous plight.

[1] 204 B.C. [2] Cf. Livy, xxx. 19. [3] 203 B.C.

βαρύτερον γὰρ ἐν Λιβύῃ πρὸ Καρχηδόνος αὐτοῖς Ἀννίβαν ἐμπεσεῖσθαι, καὶ στρατὸν ἀπαντήσειν Σκηπίωνι πολλῶν ἔτι θερμὸν αὐτοκρατόρων αἵματι καὶ δικτατόρων καὶ ὑπάτων· ὥστε τὴν πόλιν αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀναταράττεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μεθεστῶτος εἰς Λιβύην ἐγγυτέρω τῆς Ῥώμης οἴεσθαι γεγονέναι τὸν φόβον.

XXVII. Ἀλλὰ Σκηπίων μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτόν τε νικήσας μάχῃ κατὰ κράτος Ἀννίβαν καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ καταπατήσας τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὑποπεσούσης, ἀπέδωκε μείζονα χαρὰν ἁπάσης ἐλπίδος τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὡς ἀληθῶς "πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθεῖσαν ὤρθωσε πάλιν"[1] Φάβιος δὲ Μάξιμος οὐ διήρκεσε τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, οὐδ' ἤκουσεν Ἀννίβαν ἡττημένον, οὐδὲ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ βέβαιον εὐτυχίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεῖδεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὃν χρόνον Ἀννίβας ἀπῆρεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας
2 νόσῳ καμὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι δημοσίᾳ διὰ πενίαν, ἣν ἀπέλιπεν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἔθαψαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οἴκοι τελευτήσαντος εὑρεθῆναι πλὴν ὀβελίσκον σιδηροῦν λέγουσι· Φάβιον δὲ 190
Ῥωμαῖοι δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκ ἐκήδευσαν, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἑκάστου τὸ σμικρότατον αὐτῷ τῶν νομισμάτων ἐπενεγκόντος, οὐχ ὡς δι' ἔνδειαν προσαρκούντων, ἀλλ' ὡς πατέρα τοῦ δήμου θάπτοντος, ἔσχε τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ πρέπουσαν.

[1] πολλῷ . . . πάλιν with Bekker, as adapted from (θεοὶ) πολλῷ σάλῳ σείσαντες ὤρθωσαν πάλιν, Sophocles, *Antigone*, 163. Sintenis corrected ὤρθωσε to ὤρθωσεν, after Coraës, and printed the whole as an iambic trimeter verse.

For Hannibal, he said, would fall upon them with all the greater effect in Africa at the gates of Carthage, and Scipio would be confronted with an army yet warm with the blood of many imperators, dictators, and consuls. Consequently, the city was once more confounded by these speeches, and although the war had been removed to Africa, they thought its terrors were nearer Rome.

XXVII. But shortly afterward Scipio utterly defeated Hannibal himself in battle, humbled and trod under foot the pride of fallen Carthage, restored to his fellow-citizens a joy that surpassed all their hopes, and in very truth "righted once more" the ship of their supremacy, which had been "shaken in a heavy surge." Fabius Maximus, however, did not live to see the end of the war, nor did he even hear of Hannibal's defeat, nor behold the great and assured prosperity of the country, but at about the time when Hannibal set sail from Italy, he fell sick and died.[1] Epaminondas, it is true, was buried by the Thebans at the public cost, because of the poverty in which he died, for it is said that nothing was found in his house after his death except a piece of iron money. Fabius, however, was not buried by the Romans at the public charge, but each private citizen contributed the smallest coin in his possession, not because his poverty called for their aid, but because the people felt that it was burying a father, whose death thus received honour and regard befitting his life.

[1] 203 B.C. Cf. Livy, xxx. 26.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΒΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιαύτην ἔχουσιν ἱστορίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ παραδείγματα καταλελοίπασιν ἀμφότεροι, φέρε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον λάβωμεν, ὅτι Περικλῆς μὲν ἄριστα πράττοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ καθ' αὑτὸν ὄντι καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς δύναμιν ἀκμάζοντι χρώμενος ὑπὸ κοινῆς ἂν δόξειεν εὐτυχίας καὶ ῥώμης πραγμά-
2 των ἀσφαλὴς διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἄπταιστος, αἱ δὲ Φαβίου πράξεις ἐν αἰσχίστοις καὶ δυσποτμοτάτοις καιροῖς ἀναδεξαμένου τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀσφαλῆ διετήρησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ κακῶν εἰς βελτίω μετέστησαν. καὶ Περικλεῖ μὲν αἱ Κίμωνος εὐπραξίαι καὶ τὰ Μυρωνίδου καὶ τὰ Λεωκράτους τρόπαια καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα Τολμίδης κατορθῶν ἐνεορτάσαι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμπανηγυρίσαι στρατηγοῦντι τὴν πόλιν ἢ κτήσα-
3 σθαι πολέμῳ καὶ φυλάξαι παρέδωκαν· Φάβιος δ' ὁρῶν πολλὰς μὲν φυγὰς καὶ ἥττας, πολλοὺς δὲ θανάτους καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ στρατηγῶν, λίμνας δὲ καὶ πεδία καὶ δρυμοὺς νεκρῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθοντας, αἵματι δὲ καὶ φόνῳ ποταμοὺς ἄχρι θαλάττης ῥέοντας, ἐν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁρμωμένῳ[1] καὶ βεβηκότι τὴν πόλιν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος καὶ ὑπερείδων, οὐκ εἴασε τοῖς

[1] ὁρμωμένῳ Bekker corrects to ἡρμοσμένῳ (*attempered*), after Coraës.

COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS

I. Such is the story of these men's lives, and since both left behind them many examples of civil as well as military excellence, let us consider, in the first place, the matter of their military achievements. Pericles was at the head of his people when its prosperity was greatest, when its own strength was at the full, and its imperial power culminating. Apparently, therefore, it was the general good fortune and vigour that kept him free from stumbling and falling, whereas the achievements of Fabius, who took charge of his city at times of the greatest disgrace and misfortune, did not maintain her safely in her prosperity, but rather lifted her out of disaster into a better state. And besides, the victories of Cimon, and the trophies of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great successes of Tolmides, made it the privilege of Pericles, during his administration, to enrich the city with holidays and public festivals, rather than to enlarge and protect her dominion by war. Fabius, on the contrary, whose eyes beheld many disgraceful defeats, many cruel deaths of imperators and generals, lakes and plains and forests filled with slain armies, and rivers flowing with blood and slaughter to the sea, put helping and supporting hands to his city, and by his firm and independent course, prevented her from utter

ἐκείνων ὑποφερομένην παίσμασι τελέως ἐκχυ-
4 θῆναι. καίτοι δόξειεν ἂν οὐχ οὕτω χαλεπὸν εἶναι πόλιν ἐν συμφοραῖς μεταχειρίσασθαι ταπεινὴν καὶ τοῦ φρονοῦντος ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κατήκοον γενομένην, ὡς δι' εὐτυχίαν ἐπηρμένῳ καὶ σπαργῶντι τῷ δήμῳ χαλινὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ὕβρεως καὶ θρασύτητος· ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα φαίνεται τρόπῳ Περικλῆς Ἀθηναίων περιγενόμενος. ἀλλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίοις συμπεσόντων τότε κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἰσχυρόν τινα τὴν γνώμην[1] καὶ μέγαν ἔδειξεν ἄνδρα τὸν μὴ συγχυθέντα μηδὲ προέμενον τοὺς αὐτοῦ λογισμούς.

II. Καὶ Σάμῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους ἁλούσῃ τὴν Τάραντος ἔστι κατάληψιν ἀντιθεῖναι, καὶ νὴ Δί' Εὐβοίᾳ τὰς περὶ Καμπανίαν πόλεις· ἐπεὶ αὐτήν γε Καπύην οἱ περὶ Φούλβιον καὶ Ἄππιον ὕπατοι κατέσχον. ἐκ δὲ παρατάξεως Φάβιος οὐ φαίνεται μάχῃ νενικηκὼς πλὴν ἀφ' ἧς τὸν πρότερον εἰσήλασε θρίαμβον, Περικλῆς δ' ἐννέα τρόπαια κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἔστησεν
2 ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. οὐ μὴν λέγεται τοιαύτη πρᾶξις Περικλέους, οἵαν ἔπραξε Φάβιος Μινούκιον ἐξαρπάσας Ἀννίβου καὶ διασώσας ἐντελὲς στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαίων· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔργον καὶ κοινὸν ἀνδρείας ὁμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ χρηστότητος· ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν οὐδὲ σφάλμα λέγεται Περικλέους οἷον ἐσφάλη Φάβιος διὰ τῶν βοῶν καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀννίβου, λαβὼν μὲν αὐτομάτως καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὑπελθόντα τοῖς στενοῖς τὸν πολέμιον, προέμενος δὲ νυκτὸς λαθόντα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν βιασάμενον καὶ φθάσαντα μέλλοντος καὶ κρατή-

[1] τὴν γνώμην Coraës : γνώμην.

exhaustion through the disasters brought upon her by others. And yet it would appear to be not so difficult a task to manage a city when she is humbled by adversity and rendered obedient to wisdom by necessity, as it is to bridle a people which is exalted by prosperity and swollen with insolence and boldness, which is precisely the way in which Pericles governed Athens. Still, the magnitude and multitude of evils which afflicted the Romans revealed the steadfast purpose and the greatness of the man who was not confounded by them, and would not abandon his own principles of action.

II. Over against the capture of Samos by Pericles, it is fair to set the taking of Tarentum by Fabius, and against Euboea, the cities of Campania (Capua itself was reduced by the consuls Fulvius and Appius). In open and regular battle, Fabius seems to have won no victory except that for which he celebrated his first triumph[1]; whereas Pericles set up nine trophies for his wars on land and sea. However, no such exploit is recorded of Pericles as that by which Fabius snatched Minucius from the hands of Hannibal, and preserved an entire Roman army; the deed was certainly a noble one, and showed a combination of valour, wisdom, and kindness alike. So, on the other hand, no such defeat is recorded of Pericles as that which Fabius suffered when he was outwitted by Hannibal's stratagem of the oxen; he had his enemy imprisoned in the narrow defile which he had entered of his own accord and accidentally, but let him slip away unnoticed in the night, force his way out when day came, take advantage of his adversary's delays, and

[1] Cf. chapter ii. 1.

3 σαντα συλλαβόντος. εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ μόνον χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς τὸν ἀγαθὸν στρατηγόν, Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ὡς Περικλῆς προέγνω καὶ προεῖπεν ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πόλεμος· πολυπραγμονοῦντες γὰρ ἀπώλεσαν τὴν δύναμιν· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Φαβίου λογισμοὺς ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους Σκηπίωνα πάντων ἐκράτησαν, οὐ τύχῃ, σοφίᾳ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ κατὰ κράτος
4 νικήσαντος τοὺς πολεμίους. ὥστε τῷ μὲν 19
τὰ παίσματα τῆς πατρίδος μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι καλῶς ἔγνω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἐσφαλμένον. ἴση δ' ἁμαρτία στρατηγοῦ κακῷ περιπεσεῖν μὴ προσδοκήσαντα καὶ κατορθώματος καιρὸν ἀπιστίᾳ προέσθαι. μία γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπειρία καὶ θράσος γεννᾷ καὶ θάρσος ἀφαιρεῖται. ταῦτα περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν.

III. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας μέγα μὲν ἔγκλημα τοῦ Περικλέους ὁ πόλεμος. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπακτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου γενέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐρίσαντος μὴ ἐνδοῦναι. δοκῶ δὲ μηδ' ἂν Φάβιον Μάξιμον ἐνδοῦναί τι Καρχηδονίοις, ἀλλ' εὐγενῶς ὑποστῆναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κίνδυνον. ἡ μέντοι πρὸς Μινούκιον ἐπιείκεια τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ πραότης ἐλέγχει τὸν πρὸς Κίμωνα καὶ Θουκυδίδην στασιασμόν, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἀριστο-

so conquer his captor. And if it is the part of a good general not only to improve the present, but also to judge correctly of the future, then Pericles was such a general, for the war which the Athenians were waging came to an end as he had foreknown and foretold; for they undertook too much and lost their empire. But it was contrary to the principles of Fabius that the Romans sent Scipio against Carthage and were completely victorious, not through the favour of fortune, but through the wisdom and valour of the general who utterly conquered their enemies. Therefore the very disasters of his country bear witness to the sagacity of Pericles; while the successes of the Romans proved that Fabius was completely in the wrong. And it is just as great a failing in a general to involve himself in disaster from want of foresight, as it is to throw away an opportunity for success from want of confidence. Inexperience, it would seem, is to blame in each case, which both engenders rashness in a man, and robs a man of courage. So much for their military abilities.

III. As for their statesmanship, the Peloponnesian war was a ground of great complaint against Pericles. For it is said to have been brought on by his contention that no concession should be made to Sparta. I think, however, that not even Fabius Maximus would have made any concessions to Carthage, but would have nobly undergone the peril needful to maintain the Roman supremacy. Nevertheless, the courteous and gentle conduct of Fabius towards Minucius contrasts forcibly with the factious opposition of Pericles to Cimon and Thucydides, who were both good and true men and of the highest birth,

κρατικοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὔστρακον
2 ἐκπεσόντας. ἀλλ' ἥ γε δύναμις μείζων ἡ τοῦ Περικλέους καὶ τὸ κράτος. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἄλλον εἴασεν ἐνδυστυχῆσαι τῇ πόλει κακῶς βουλευσάμενον στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος αὐτὸν ἐκφυγὼν Τολμίδης καὶ διωσάμενος βίᾳ προσέπταισε Βοιωτοῖς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσετίθεντο καὶ κατεκοσμοῦντο πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ὑπὸ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ
3 τῆς δυνάμεως. Φάβιος δὲ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ἀσφαλὴς ὢν καὶ ἀναμάρτητος τῷ πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἑτέρους ἀδυνάτῳ φαίνεται λειπόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοσαύταις συμφοραῖς ἐχρήσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι Φαβίου παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅσον Ἀθήνησι Περικλέους δυνηθέντος.

Καὶ μὴν τήν γε πρὸς χρήματα μεγαλοφροσύνην ὁ μὲν τῷ μηδὲν λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν διδόντων, ὁ δὲ τῷ προέσθαι πολλὰ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπεδείξατο, λυσάμενος τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήμασι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.
4 πλὴν τούτων μὲν οὐ πολὺς ἦν ἀριθμός, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐξ τάλαντα· Περικλῆς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἴσως εἴποι τις ὅσα καὶ παρὰ συμμάχων καὶ βασιλέων ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι παρόν, τῆς δυνάμεως διδούσης, ἀδωρότατον ἑαυτὸν καὶ καθαρώτατον ἐφύλαξεν.

5 Ἔργων γε μὴν μεγέθεσι καὶ ναῶν καὶ κατασκευαῖς οἰκοδομημάτων, ἐξ ὧν ἐκόσμησεν ὁ Περικλῆς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐκ ἄξιον ὁμοῦ πάντα τὰ πρὸ τῶν Καισάρων φιλοτιμήματα τῆς Ῥώμης παραβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξοχόν τι πρὸς ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀσύγκριτον ἡ τούτων ἔσχε μεγαλουργία καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια τὸ πρωτεῖον.

and yet were subjected by him to ostracism and banishment. But Pericles had greater influence and power than Fabius. For this reason he did not suffer any other general to bring misfortune upon the city by his evil counsels, except that Tolmides broke away from his guidance, carried through by main force a plan for attacking Boeotia, and met with disaster; but the rest all attached themselves submissively to his opinion, owing to the greatness of his influence. Fabius, on the other hand, though sure and unerring in his own conduct of affairs, seems to have fallen short through his inability to restrain others. Surely the Romans would not have suffered so many disasters if Fabius had been as influential with them as Pericles was at Athens.

And further, as regards their freedom from mercenary views, Pericles displayed it by never taking any gifts at all; Fabius by his liberality to the needy, when he ransomed at his own costs his captured soldiers. Albeit the amount of his property was not great, but about six talents. And Pericles, though he had opportunities, owing to his authority and influence, to enrich himself from obsequious allies and kings beyond all possible estimates, nevertheless kept himself pre-eminently superior to bribes and free from corruption.

By the side of the great public works, the temples, and the stately edifices, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all Rome's attempts at splendour down to the times of the Caesars, taken together, are not worthy to be considered, nay, the one had a towering pre-eminence above the other, both in grandeur of design, and grandeur of execution, which precludes comparison.

NICIAS

ΝΙΚΙΑΣ

1 Ἐπεὶ δοκοῦμεν οὐκ ἀτόπως τῷ Νικίᾳ τὸν Κράσσου παραβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ Παρθικὰ παθήματα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς, ὥρα παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς συγγράμμασι τούτοις, ὅπως ἐπὶ ταῖς διηγήσεσιν αἷς Θουκυδίδης, αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ περὶ ταῦτα παθητικώτατος, ἐναργέστατος, ποικιλώτατος γενόμενος, ἀμιμήτως ἐξενήνοχε, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπολάβωσι
2 πεπονθέναι Τιμαίῳ πάθος ὅμοιον, ὃς ἐλπίσας τὸν μὲν Θουκυδίδην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι δεινότητι, τὸν δὲ Φίλιστον ἀποδείξειν παντάπασι φορτικὸν καὶ ἰδιώτην, διὰ μέσων ὠθεῖται τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν μάλιστα κατωρθωμένων ἐκείνοις ἀγώνων καὶ ναυμαχιῶν καὶ δημηγοριῶν, οὐ μὰ Δία

παρὰ Λύδιον ἅρμα πεζὸς οἰχνεύων

ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος, ἀλλ' ὅλως τις ὀψιμαθὴς καὶ μειρακιώδης φαινόμενος ἐν τούτοις, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δίφιλον

παχύς, ὠνθυλευμένος στέατι Σικελικῷ,

3 πολλαχοῦ δ' ὑπορρέων εἰς τὸν Ξέναρχον, ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἰωνὸν ἡγήσασθαι γεγονέναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔχοντα τοὔνομα

NICIAS

I. I THINK that Nicias is a suitable parallel to Crassus, and the Sicilian to the Parthian disaster. I must therefore at once, and in all modesty, entreat my readers not to imagine for an instant that, in my narration of what Thucydides has inimitably set forth, surpassing even himself in pathos, vividness, and variety, I am so disposed as was Timaeus. He, confidently hoping to excel Thucydides in skill, and to make Philistus seem altogether tedious and clumsy, pushes his history along through the conflicts and sea-fights and harangues which those writers had already handled with the greatest success, showing himself, in rivalry with them, not even so much as

"By Lydian car a footman slowly plodding,"

to use Pindar's comparison,[1] nay rather, a perfect example of senile learning and youthful conceit, and, in the words of Diphilus,

"Obese, stuffed to the full with Sicilian grease." [2]

Indeed, he often lapses unawares into the manner of Xenarchus, as, for instance, when he says he thinks it was a bad omen for the Athenians that Nicias, whose name was derived from victory, declined at

[1] One of the *Fragmenta Incerta* (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, i⁴. p. 450. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 576.

στρατηγὸν ἀντειπόντα πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ τῇ περικοπῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν προσημαίνειν αὐτοῖς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Ἕρμωνος πλεῖστα πείσονται παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον· ἔτι δ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις βοηθεῖν διὰ τὴν Κόρην, παρ' ἧς ἔλαβε τὸν Κέρβερον, ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι τοὺς Αἰγεστέας, ἀπογόνους ὄντας Τρώων, ἔσωζον, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ Λαομέδοντος ἀδικηθεὶς ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας ταῦτά τε γράφειν ἐπῄει καὶ τὴν Φιλίστου διάλεκτον εὐθύνειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην λοιδορεῖσθαι· ἐμοὶ δ' ὅλως μὲν ἡ περὶ λέξιν ἅμιλλα καὶ ζηλοτυπία πρὸς ἑτέρους μικροπρεπὲς φαίνεται καὶ σοφιστικόν, ἂν δὲ πρὸς τὰ 5 ἀμίμητα γίγνηται, καὶ τελέως ἀναίσθητον. ἂς γοῦν Θουκυδίδης ἐξήνεγκε πράξεις καὶ Φίλιστος, ἐπεὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἔστι, μάλιστά γε δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν καλυπτομένην περιεχούσας, ἐπιδραμὼν βραχέως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἵνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελὴς δοκῶ καὶ ἀργὸς εἶναι, τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλούς, ὑφ' ἑτέρων 5.2 δ' εἰρημένα σποράδην ἢ πρὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἢ ψηφίσμασιν εὑρημένα παλαιοῖς πεπείραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἀθροίζων ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανόησιν ἤθους καὶ τρόπου παραδιδούς.

first to head their expedition; also that, by the mutilation of the "Hermae,"[1] Heaven indicated to them in advance that by the hands of Hermocrates the son of Hermon they were to suffer most of their reverses during the war; and, further, that it was fitting that Heracles should aid the Syracusans, for the sake of their goddess Cora, who delivered Cerberus into his hands, but should be angry with the Athenians, because they were trying to succour the Egestaeans, although they were descendants of the Trojans, whose city he had once destroyed because of the wrong done him by Laomedon their king.

As for Timaeus, he may possibly have been moved to write thus in the exercise of the same critical taste which led him to correct the language of Philistus and abuse Plato and Aristotle; but as for me, I feel that jealous rivalry with other writers in matters of diction is altogether undignified and pedantic, and if it be practised toward what is beyond all imitation, utterly silly. At all events, those deeds which Thucydides and Philistus have set forth,—since I cannot entirely pass them by, indicating as they do the nature of my hero and the disposition which lay hidden beneath his many great sufferings,—I have run over briefly, and with no unnecessary detail, in order to escape the reputation of utter carelessness and sloth; but those details which have escaped most writers, and which others have mentioned casually, or which are found on ancient votive offerings or in public decrees, these I have tried to collect, not massing together useless material of research, but handing on such as furthers the appreciation of character and temperament.

[1] See chapter xiii. 2.

II. Ἔνεστιν οὖν περὶ Νικίου πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ὃ γέγραφεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικὴν ἔχοντες εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ Μελησίου καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ Ἄγνωνος, ἧττον δὲ οὗτος ἢ ἐκεῖνοι· καὶ γὰρ εἰς δυσγένειαν ὡς ξένος ἐκ Κέω λελοιδόρηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον, ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζον ἀεὶ τῇ προ-
2 αιρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκλήθη Κόθορνος. ἐκείνων δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἦν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ Περικλεῖ δημαγωγοῦντι τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν προϊστάμενος ἀντεπολιτεύσατο, νεώτερος δὲ Νικίας γενόμενος ἦν μὲν ἔν τινι λόγῳ καὶ Περικλέους ζῶντος, ὥστε κἀκείνῳ συστρατηγῆσαι καὶ καθ' αὑτὸν ἄρξαι πολλάκις, Περικλέους δ' ἀποθανόντος εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προήχθη, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ γνωρίμων, ἀντίταγμα ποιουμένων αὐτὸν πρὸς την Κλέωνος βδελυρίαν καὶ τόλμαν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἶχεν εὔνουν καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενον.
3 Ἴσχυε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κλέων μέγα "γεροντα γωγῶν κἀναμισθαρνεῖν διδούς," ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἰταμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος[1] ὁρῶντες αὐτοὶ οἷς πρὸς χάριν ἔπραττεν, οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἐπήγοντο. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αὐστηρὸν

[1] τὸ θράσος Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: θράσος.

II. Accordingly, I may say of Nicias, in the first place, what Aristotle wrote,[1] namely, that the three best citizens of Athens,—men of hereditary good will and friendship for the people,—were Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Melesias, and Theramenes the son of Hagnon. However, this was true of the last in lesser degree than of the other two, because he has been flouted for inferior parentage as an alien from Ceos; and on account of his not being steadfast, but ever trying to court both sides in his political career, was nicknamed "Cothurnus."[2] Of the other two, Thucydides was the older man, and as head of the aristocratic party,—the party of the "Good and True,"—often opposed Pericles in his efforts to win the favour of the people. Nicias was a younger man. He was held in some repute even while Pericles was still living, so that he was not only associated with him as general, but frequently had independent command himself; after Pericles was dead,[3] Nicias was at once put forward into the position of leader, especially by the party of the rich and notable. These made him their champion to face the disgusting boldness of Cleon.

And yet, for that matter, the common people also held him in favour and aided his ambitions. For although Cleon had great influence with them, "by coddling them, and giving frequent jobs for pay,"[4] yet the very men whose favour he thus sought to gain were aware of his rapacity and fierce effrontery, and for the most part preferred Nicias as their champion.

[1] *Constitution of Athens*, xxviii. 5.

[2] The high boot of tragic actors, which could be worn on either foot.

[3] 429 B.C.

[4] An iambic trimeter from an unknown comic poet (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, iii. p. 400).

οὐδ' ἐπαχθὲς ἄγαν αὐτοῦ τὸ σεμνόν, ἀλλ' εὐλαβείᾳ τινὶ μεμιγμένον αὐτῷ τῷ δεδιέναι δοκοῦντι
4 τοὺς πολλοὺς δημαγωγοῦν. τῇ φύσει γὰρ ὢν ἀθαρσὴς καὶ δύσελπις, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀπέκρυπτεν εὐτυχίᾳ τὴν δειλίαν· κατώρθου γὰρ ὁμαλῶς στρατηγῶν· τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ψοφοδεὲς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας εὐθορύβητον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικὸν ἐδόκει, καὶ δύναμιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀπ' εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου παρεῖχε τῷ δεδιέναι τοὺς ὑπερορῶντας, αὔξειν δὲ τοὺς δεδιότας. τοῖς γὰρ πολλοῖς τιμὴ μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν μειζόνων τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι.

III. Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπό τε ἀρετῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ λόγου δυνάμεως τὴν πόλιν ἄγων οὐδενὸς ἐδεῖτο σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οὐδὲ πιθανότητος,
Νικίας δὲ τούτοις μὲν λειπόμενος, οὐσίᾳ δὲ προέ-
2 χων, ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐδημαγώγει. καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος εὐχερείᾳ καὶ βωμολοχίᾳ πρὸς ἡδονὴν μεταχειριζομένῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀντιπαρεξάγειν ἀπίθανος ὤν, χορηγίαις ἀνελάμβανε καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις ἑτέραις τε τοιαύταις φιλοτιμίαις τὸν δῆμον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος πολυτελείᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἅπαντας.
3 εἱστήκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τό τε Παλλάδιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκός, καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν

The dignity of Nicias was not of the harsh, offensive sort, but was blended with much circumspection, and won control of the people from the very fact that he was thought to be afraid of them. Timid as he was by nature, and distrustful of success, in war he managed to succeed in hiding his cowardice under a cloak of good fortune, for he was uniformly successful as a general; while in political life his nervousness, and the ease with which he could be put to confusion by accusers, actually tended to make him popular, and gave him in high degree that power which comes from the favour of the people, because they fear men who scorn them, but exalt men who fear them. The multitude can have no greater honour shown them by their superiors than not to be despised.

III. Now Pericles led the city by virtue of his native excellence and powerful eloquence, and had no need to assume any persuasive mannerisms with the multitude; but Nicias, since he lacked such powers, but had excessive wealth, sought by means of this to win the leadership of the people. And since he despaired of his ability to vie successfully with the versatile buffoonery by which Cleon catered to the pleasure of the Athenians, he tried to captivate the people by choral and gymnastic exhibitions, and other like prodigalities, outdoing in the costliness and elegance of these all his predecessors and contemporaries. Of his dedicatory offerings there remain standing in my day not only the Palladium on the acropolis,—the one which has lost its gilding,—but also the temple surmounted by choregic tripods,[1] in

[1] Bronze tripods were awarded as prizes to the victorious *choregi* in the dithyrambic choral contests.

ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγήσας, ἐλείφθη δὲ οὐδέποτε. λέγεται δ' ἔν τινι χορηγίᾳ παρελθεῖν οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ κεκοσμημένος εἰς σχῆμα Διονύσου, κάλλιστος ὀφθῆναι καὶ μέγιστος, οὔπω γενειῶν· ἡσθέντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῇ ὄψει καὶ κροτούντων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀναστὰς ὁ Νικίας εἶπεν ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγοῖτο δουλεύειν καταπεφημισμένον θεῷ σῶμα, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀπηλευθέρωσε.

4 Μνημονεύεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ Δῆλον ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῆ φιλοτιμήματα. τῶν γὰρ χορῶν, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἔπεμπον ἀσομένους τῷ θεῷ, 525
προσπλεόντων μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν, εὐθὺς δ' ὄχλου πρὸς τὴν ναῦν ἀπαντῶντος ἄδειν κελευομένων κατ' οὐδένα κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀσυντάκτως ἀποβαινόντων ἅμα καὶ στεφανουμένων καὶ
5 μεταμφιεννυμένων, ἐκεῖνος, ὅτε τὴν θεωρίαν ἦγεν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ῥήνειαν ἀπέβη τὸν χορὸν ἔχων καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ζεῦγμα δὲ πεποιημένον Ἀθήνησι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπῶς χρυσώσεσι καὶ βαφαῖς καὶ στεφάνοις καὶ αὐλαίαις κομίζων, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐγεφύρωσε τὸν μεταξὺ Ῥηνείας καὶ Δήλου πόρον οὐκ ὄντα μέγαν· εἶθ' ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τήν τε πομπὴν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἄγων κεκοσμημένον πολυτελῶς
6 καὶ ᾄδοντα διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἀπεβίβαζε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις τόν τε φοίνικα τὸν χαλκοῦν ἔστησεν ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ, καὶ χωρίον μυρίων δραχμῶν πριάμενος

the precinct of Dionysus. For he was often victorious with choruses, and was never defeated. A story is told how, in one of his choral exhibitions, a house servant of his appeared in the costume of Dionysus, very fair to see, and very tall, the down of youth still upon his face. The Athenians were delighted at the sight, and applauded for a long time. At last Nicias rose and said he deemed it an unholy thing that one who had been acclaimed as a god should be a slave, and gave the youth his freedom.

It is matter of record also how splendid and worthy of the god his lavish outlays at Delos were. The choirs which cities used to send thither to sing the praises of the god were wont to put in at the island in haphazard fashion. The throng of worshippers would meet them at the ship and bid them sing, not with the decorum due, but as they were hastily and tumultuously disembarking, and while they were actually donning their chaplets and vestments. But when Nicias conducted the festal embassy, he landed first on the neighbouring island of Rheneia, with his choir, sacrificial victims, and other equipment. Then, with the bridge of boats which he had brought along with him from Athens, where it had been made to measure and signally adorned with gildings and dyed stuffs and garlands and tapestries, he spanned during the night the strait between Rheneia and Delos, which is not wide. At break of day he led his festal procession in honour of the god, and his choir arrayed in lavish splendour and singing as it marched, across the bridge to land. After the sacrifices and the choral contests and the banquets were over, he erected the famous bronze palm-tree as a thank offering to the god, and consecrated to his service a tract of

καθιέρωσεν, οὗ τὰς προσόδους ἔδει Δηλίους καταθύοντας ἑστιᾶσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ Νικίᾳ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένους· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ στήλῃ ἐνέγραψεν, ἣν ὥσπερ φύλακα τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐν Δήλῳ κατέλιπεν. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀποκλασθεὶς ἐνέπεσε τῷ Ναξίων ἀνδριάντι τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνέτρεψε.

IV. Τούτοις δ' ὅτι μὲν πολὺ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν πανηγυρικὸν[1] καὶ ἀγοραῖον ἔνεστιν, οὐκ ἄδηλον, ἀλλὰ τῷ λοιπῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἤθει πιστεύσειεν ἄν τις εὐσεβείας ἐπακολούθημα τὴν τοιαύτην χάριν καὶ δημαγωγίαν γενέσθαι· σφόδρα γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ "θειασμῷ προσκείμενος," ὥς φησι
2 Θουκυδίδης. ἐν δέ τινι τῶν Πασιφῶντος διαλόγων γέγραπται ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ μάντιν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἀεὶ σκέπτεσθαι περὶ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων· ἐκέκτητο γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λαυρεωτικῇ πολλά, μεγάλα μὲν εἰς πρόσοδον, οὐκ ἀκινδύνους δὲ τὰς ἐργασίας ἔχοντα· καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων ἔτρεφεν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τὸ
3 πλεῖστον εἶχεν. ὅθεν οὐκ ὀλίγοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν αἰτοῦντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες. ἐδίδου γὰρ οὐχ

[1] πανηγυρικὸν Madvig's conjecture : πανηγυρικήν.

land which he bought at the price of ten thousand drachmas,[1] the revenues from which the Delians were to expend in sacrificial banquets, at which many blessings should be invoked upon Nicias from the gods. This stipulation he actually had graven on the stone which he left in Delos to be as it were the sentry over his benefaction. The palm-tree, however, was torn away by the wind and fell against the colossal statue of the god which the Naxians erected, and overturned it.

IV. In this course it is clear that there was much ostentatious publicity, looking towards increase of reputation and gratification of ambition; and yet, to judge from the rest of the man's bent and character, one might feel sure that such means of winning the favour and control of the people were rather a corollary to his reverent piety. For he was one of those who are excessively terrified at heavenly portents, and was "addicted to divination," as Thucydides says.[2] And in one of the dialogues of Pasiphon[3] it is recorded that he sacrificed every day to the gods, and that he kept a diviner at his house, ostensibly for the constant enquiries which he made about public affairs, whereas most of his enquiries were really made about his own private matters, and especially about his silver mines; for he had large interests in the mining district of Laurium, and they were exceedingly profitable, although worked at great risks. He maintained a multitude of slaves in these mines, and the most of his substance was in silver. For this reason he had a large retinue of people who wanted

[1] About £400, or $2000, with four or five times the present purchasing power of money.

[2] vii. 50, 4. [3] Not extant.

ἧττον τοῖς κακῶς ποιεῖν δυναμένοις ἢ τοῖς εὖ πάσχειν ἀξίοις, καὶ ὅλως πρόσοδος ἦν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε πονηροῖς ἡ δειλία καὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἡ φιλανθρωπία.

Λαβεῖν δὲ περὶ τούτων μαρτυρίαν καὶ παρὰ
4 τῶν κωμικῶν ἔστι. Τηλεκλείδης μὲν γὰρ εἴς τινα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ταυτὶ πεποίηκε·

Χαρικλέης μὲν οὖν ἔδωκε μνᾶν, ἵν' αὐτὸν μὴ λέγῃ
ὡς ἔφυ τῇ μητρὶ παίδων πρῶτος ἐκ βαλλαντίου·
τέσσαρας δὲ μνᾶς ἔδωκε Νικίας Νικηράτου·
ὧν δ' ἕκατι τοῦτ' ἔδωκε, καίπερ εὖ εἰδὼς ἐγὼ
οὐκ ἐρῶ, φίλος γὰρ ἀνήρ, σωφρονεῖν δέ μοι δοκεῖ.

5 ὁ δ' ὑπ' Εὐπόλιδος κωμῳδούμενος ἐν τῷ Μαρικᾷ παράγων τινὰ τῶν ἀπραγμόνων καὶ πενήτων λέγει·

Α. Πόσου χρόνου γὰρ συγγεγένησαι Νικίᾳ;
Β. οὐδ' εἶδον, εἰ μὴ ναγχος ἑστῶτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ.
Α. ἀνὴρ ὁμολογεῖ Νικίαν ἑορακέναι.
καίτοι τί μαθὼν[1] ἂν εἶδεν, εἰ μὴ προὐδίδου;

[1] μαθὼν MSS. and edd., including Sintenis[1]: παθών, an anonymous correction.

his money, and who got it too; for he gave to those who could work him harm no less than to those who deserved his favours, and in general his cowardice was a source of revenue to the base, as his liberality was to the good.

Witness to this can be had from the comic poets. Telecleides composed the following verses on a certain public informer:—

"So then Charicles gave a mina that he might not tell of him
How he was his mother's first-born,—and her purse-born child at that.
Minas four he got from Nicias, son of rich Niceratus;
But the reason why he gave them, though I know it very well,
I'll not tell; the man's my friend, and I think him wise and true."[1]

And the personage who is held up to ridicule by Eupolis, in his "Maricas,"[2] fetches in a sort of lazy pauper, and says:—

(*Maricas*) "How long a time now since you were with Nicias?"
(*Pauper*) "I have not seen him,—saving just now on the Square."
(*Maricas*) "The man admits he actually did see Nicias!
Yet what possessed him thus to see him if he was not treacherous?"

[1] From a play of unknown name. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 219.
[2] A caricature of the demagogue Hyperbolus. Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 308

Γ. ἠκούσατ', ὦ ξυνήλικες,
ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ Νικίαν εἰλημμένον.
Β. ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ φρενοβλαβεῖς,
λάβοιτ' ἂν ἄνδρ' ἄριστον ἐν κακῷ τινι;

6 ὁ δ' Ἀριστοφάνους Κλέων ἀπειλῶν λέγει·

Λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταράξω.

ὑποδηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Φρύνιχος τὸ ἀθαρσὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ καταπεπληγμένον ἐν τούτοις·

Ἦν γὰρ πολίτης ἀγαθός, ὡς εὖ οἶδ' ἐγώ,
κοὐχ ὑποταγεὶς ἐβάδιζεν, ὥσπερ Νικίας. 52

V. Οὕτω δὴ διακείμενος εὐλαβῶς πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας οὔτε συνεδείπνει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε κοινολογίαις οὔτε συνδιημερεύσεσιν ἐνέβαλλεν ἑαυτόν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐσχόλαζε ταῖς τοιαύταις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλ' ἄρχων μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ διετέλει μέχρι νυκτός, ἐκ δὲ βουλῆς ὕστατος ἀπῄει πρῶτος ἀφικνούμενος. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν κοινῷ πράττειν ἔχοι, δυσπρόσοδος ἦν καὶ δυσέν-
2 τευκτος οἰκουρῶν καὶ κατακεκλεισμένος. οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις φοιτῶσιν ἐνετύγχανον, καὶ παρῃτοῦντο συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ τότε Νικίου πρὸς δημοσίας χρείας τινὰς καὶ ἀσχολίας ὄντος.

Καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγῳδῶν καὶ συμπεριτιθεὶς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν Ἱέρων ἦν, ἀνὴρ

(*Chorus ?*) "Ye heard, ye heard, my comrades, O !
Our Nicias was taken in the very act ! "
(*Pauper*) "What ! you ? O crazy-witted folk !
You catch a man so good in sin of any sort ? "

And the Cleon of Aristophanes [1] blusteringly says :—

"I'll bellow down the orators, and Nicias I'll rattle."

And Phrynichus plainly hints at his lack of courage and his panic-stricken air in these verses :—

"He was a right good citizen, and I know it well ;
He wouldn't cringe and creep as Nicias always does." [2]

V. Since he was disposed to be thus cautious of public informers, he would neither dine with a fellow citizen, nor indulge in general interchange of views or familiar social intercourse ; indeed, he had no leisure for such pastimes, but when he was general, he remained at the War Department till night, and when he was councillor, he was first to reach and last to leave the council. And even if he had no public business to transact, he was inaccessible and hard to come at, keeping close at home with his doors bolted. His friends used to accost those who were in waiting at his door and beg them to be indulgent with Nicias, for he was even then engaged upon sundry urgent matters of public business.

The man who most aided him in playing this rôle, and helped him to assume his costume of pompous

[1] *Knights*, 358. It is not Cleon, but his adversary, the rampant sausage-seller, who utters the verse.

[2] From a play of unknown name. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 385.

τεθραμμένος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ Νικίου, περί τε γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν ἐξησκημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προσποιούμενος δ' υἱὸς εἶναι Διονυσίου τοῦ Χαλκοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, οὗ καὶ ποιήματα σώζεται, καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀποικίας ἡγεμὼν
3 γενόμενος ἔκτισε Θουρίους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἱέρων τά τε πρὸς τοὺς μάντεις ἀπόρρητα διεπράττετο τῷ Νικίᾳ, καὶ λόγους ἐξέφερεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐπίπονόν τινα καὶ ταλαίπωρον διὰ τὴν πόλιν ζῶντος αὐτοῦ βίον· ᾧ γ' ἔφη καὶ περὶ λουτρὸν ὄντι καὶ περὶ δεῖπνον ἀεί τι προσπίπτειν δημόσιον· "ἀμελῶν δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ φροντίζειν μόλις ἄρχεται καθεύδειν περὶ πρῶτον
4 ὕπνον. ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διάκειται κακῶς, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὐ προσηνὴς οὐδὲ ἡδύς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους προσαποβέβληκε τοῖς χρήμασι πολιτευόμενος. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι καὶ φίλους κτώμενοι καὶ πλουτίζοντες αὑτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐπαθοῦσι καὶ προσπαίζουσι τῇ πολιτείᾳ." τῷ δ' ὄντι τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Νικίου βίος ὥστ' αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰς αὐτόν·

Προστάτην γε τοῦ βίου
τὸν ὄγκον ἔχομεν, τῷ τ' ὄχλῳ δουλεύομεν.[1]

VI. Ὁρῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν λόγῳ δυνατῶν ἢ τῷ φρονεῖν διαφερόντων ἀποχρώμενον εἰς ἔνια ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις τὸν δῆμον, ὑφορώμενον δ' ἀεὶ καὶ

[1] Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 445 f. (Kirchhoff), where the MSS. have προστάτην γε, τὸν δῆμον, τῷ τ' ὄχλῳ. The MSS. of Plutarch have προστάτην δέ, τὸν ὄγκον, τῷ δ' ὄχλῳ.

dignity, was Hiero. He had been reared in the household of Nicias, and thoroughly instructed by him in letters and literature. He pretended to be the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus, whose poems[1] are indeed extant, and who, as leader of the colonizing expedition to Italy, founded Thurii.[2] This Hiero it was who managed for Nicias his secret dealings with the seers, and who was forever putting forth among the people moving tales about the life of severe hardships which his patron led for the sake of the city. "Why!" said he, "even when he takes his bath and when he eats his dinner, some public business or other is sure to confront him; he neglects his private interests in his anxiety for the common good, and scarcely gets to sleep till others wake. That's the reason why he is physically all run down, and is not affable or pleasant to his friends, nay, he has actually lost these too, in addition to his substance, and all in the service of the city. Other public men not only win friends but enrich themselves through their influence as public speakers, and then fare sumptuously, and make a plaything of the service of the city." In point of fact, such was the life of Nicias that he could say of himself what Agamemnon did:—

"Sooth, as master of my life
My pomp I have, and to the populace I'm a slave."

VI. He saw that the people, upon occasion, served their own turn with experienced men of eloquence or surpassing ability, but ever looked with suspicious and cautious eyes upon such powers, and tried to

[1] Seven fragments appear in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii[4]. pp. 262 ff. [2] Cf. *Pericles*, xi. 5.

φυλαττόμενον τὴν δεινότητα καὶ κολούοντα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ὡς δῆλον ἦν τῇ Περικλέους καταδίκῃ καὶ τῷ Δάμωνος ἐξοστρακισμῷ καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφῶντα τὸν Ῥαμνούσιον ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τοῖς περὶ Πάχητα
2 τὸν ἑλόντα Λέσβον, ὃς εὐθύνας διδοὺς τῆς στρατηγίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σπασάμενος ξίφος ἀνεῖλεν ἑαυτόν, τὰς μὲν ἐργώδεις πάνυ καὶ μακρὰς ἐπειρᾶτο διακρούεσθαι στρατηγίας, ὅπου δ' αὐτὸς στρατεύοιτο τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐχόμενος καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατορθῶν, ὡς εἰκός, εἰς οὐδεμίαν αὑτοῦ σοφίαν ἢ δύναμιν ἢ ἀρετὴν ἀνέφερε τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ παρεχώρει τῇ τύχῃ καὶ κατέφευγεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον, τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης ὑφιέμενος.
3 Ἐπεμαρτύρει δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα· πολλῶν γὰρ τότε προσκρουσμάτων τῇ πόλει καὶ μεγάλων γενομένων, οὐδενὸς ἁπλῶς ἐκεῖνος μετέσχεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ Θρᾴκην μὲν ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων Καλλιάδου τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντος στρατηγούντων, τὸ δ' Αἰτωλικὸν πταῖσμα συνέβη Δημοσθένους ἄρχοντος, ἐν δὲ Δηλίῳ χιλίους αὑτῶν ἀπέβαλον Ἱπποκράτους ἡγουμένου, τοῦ δὲ λοιμοῦ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔλαβε Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατακλείσας τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας

abate the pride and reputation to which they gave rise. This was manifest in their fining Pericles,[1] and ostracising Damon,[2] and discrediting, as most of them did, Antiphon the Rhamnusian,[3] and finally, above all, in the fate of Paches, the captor of Lesbos,[4] who, while he was giving the official account of his generalship, drew his sword in the very court-room and slew himself. Nicias therefore tried to evade commands which were likely to be laborious and long, and whenever he did serve as general made safety his chief aim, and so was successful for the most part, as was natural. He did not, however, ascribe his achievements to any wisdom or ability or valour of his own, but rather credited them to fortune, and took modest refuge in the divine ordering of events, relinquishing thereby part of his reputation through fear of envy.

Events bore witness to his wisdom, for in the many great reverses which the city suffered at that period he had absolutely no share. It was under the leadership of Calliades[5] and Xenophon that his countrymen met defeat at the hands of the Chalcidians in Thrace; the Aetolian disaster occurred when Demosthenes was in command[6]; Hippocrates was general when a thousand citizens were sacrificed at Delium[7]; and for the plague Pericles incurred the most blame, because he shut up the throng from the country in

[1] *Pericles*, xxxv. 4. [2] Cf. *Pericles*, iv. 1–2

[3] He was tried and executed for participation in the revolution of the Four Hundred (411 B.C.).

[4] In 427 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 28).

[5] An error for Callias, who lost his life before Potidaea in 432 B.C. (Thuc. i. 63). In 429, Xenophon was defeated and killed, with his two colleagues (Thuc. ii. 79).

[6] In 426 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 91–98).

[7] In 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 89–101).

ὄχλον, ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς τῶν τόπων καὶ διαίτης
4 ἀήθους γενομένου. Νικίας δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων
ἀναίτιος ἔμεινε· καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶλε μὲν Κύθηρα,
νῆσον εὖ κατὰ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πεφυκυῖαν καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχουσαν οἰκήτορας, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ 527
πολλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἀφεστώτων καὶ προση-
γάγετο, κατακλείσας δὲ Μεγαρεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν
εὐθὺς μὲν ἔσχε Μίνῳαν τὴν νῆσον, ὀλίγῳ δ'
ὕστερον ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενος Νισαίας ἐκράτησεν,
εἰς δὲ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀποβὰς ἐνίκησε μάχῃ καὶ
διέφθειρε Κορινθίων πολλοὺς καὶ Λυκόφρονα τὸν
στρατηγόν.

5 Ἔνθα δ' αὐτῷ συνέβη τῶν οἰκείων δύο νεκροὺς
ἀπολιπεῖν διαλαθόντας περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. ὡς
οὖν τοῦτ' ἔγνω, τάχιστα τὸν στόλον ἐπιστήσας
ἔπεμψε κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους περὶ ἀναι-
ρέσεως. καίτοι κατὰ νόμον τινὰ καὶ συνήθειαν
ἐδόκουν οἱ νεκρῶν ὑποσπόνδων λαβόντες ἀναί-
ρεσιν ἀπολέγεσθαι τὴν νίκην, καὶ τρόπαιον ἱστά-
ναι τοὺς τούτου τυχόντας οὐκ ἔνθεσμον ἦν· νικᾶν
γὰρ τοὺς κρατοῦντας, μὴ κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς αἰτοῦν-
6 τας, ὡς λαβεῖν μὴ δυναμένους. ἀλλ' ὅμως
ἐκεῖνος ὑπέμεινε μᾶλλον προέσθαι τὸ νίκημα

the city on account of the war, and the plague was the result of their change of abode and their unwonted manner of living.[1] For all these things Nicias was free from blame, while as general he captured Cythera,[2] an island favourably situated for the command of Laconia and inhabited by Lacedaemonians; he captured also many places in Thrace[3] which had revolted, and brought them back to their allegiance; having shut up the Megarians in their city he straightway seized the island of Minoa,[4] and shortly after, from this base of operations, got possession of Nisaea[5]; he also made a descent upon the territory of Corinth,[6] defeated the Corinthians in battle and slew many of them, including Lycophron their general.

Here it befell him, when his dead were taken up for burial, that two of his men were left unnoticed on the field. As soon as he was made aware of this, he halted his armament and sent a herald back to the enemy asking leave to take up his dead. And yet by usage and unwritten law the side which secured the right to take up its dead by a truce, was thought to renounce all claims to victory, and for those who so obtained this right, the erection of a trophy of victory was unlawful, since they are victors who possess the field; but petitioners do not possess the field, since they cannot take what they want. Notwithstanding this, Nicias endured rather to abandon the honour and reputation of his

[1] Cf. *Pericles*, xxxiv. 3 f.
[2] In 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 53–55).
[3] In 423 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 129–133).
[4] In 427 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 51).
[5] This, on the contrary, was the exploit of Demosthenes in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 66–69).
[6] In 425 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 42, 1, and 44).

καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀτάφους δύο τῶν πολιτῶν.

Πορθήσας δὲ τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας Λακεδαιμονίων τρεψάμενος, εἷλε Θυρέαν Αἰγινητῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἀπήγαγε ζῶντας εἰς Ἀθήνας.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημοσθένους Πύλον τειχίσαντος ἐπεστράτευσαν ἅμα πεζῷ καὶ ναυσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἀπελήφθησαν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, μέγα μέν, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἡγούμενοι τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ δυσέργου τῆς πολιορκίας οὔσης ἐν χωρίοις ἀνύδροις, καὶ θέρους μὲν μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ τὴν περιαγωγὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐχούσης, σφαλερὰν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ παντελῶς ἄπορον, ἤχθοντο καὶ μετεμέλοντο πρεσβείαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπωσάμενοι περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης
2 ἀφικομένην πρὸς αὐτούς. ἀπεώσαντο δὲ Κλέωνος ἐναντιωθέντος οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ Νικίαν· ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ὢν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προθύμως ὁρῶν συμπράττοντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ἀποψηφίσασθαι τὰς σπονδάς. ὡς οὖν ἥ τε πολιορκία μῆκος ἐλάμβανε καὶ δεινὰς ἀπορίας ἐπυνθάνοντο περιεστάναι τὸ στρατόπεδον, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον τὸν Κλέωνα.

3 Τοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν Νικίαν ἐκτρέποντος τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος ὅτι δειλίᾳ καὶ μαλακίᾳ προΐεται τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς αὐτοῦ γε στρατηγοῦντος οὐκ

victory than to leave unburied two of his fellow citizens.

He also ravaged the coasts of Laconia,[1] routed the Lacedaemonians who opposed him, captured Thyrea, which the Aeginetans held, and took his prisoners off alive to Athens.

VII. After Demosthenes had fortified Pylos,[2] the Peloponnesians came up against it by land and sea, a battle was fought, and about four hundred Spartans were shut off on the island of Sphacteria. Then the Athenians considered that their capture would be a great achievement, as was true. But the siege was difficult and toilsome, since the region afforded little fresh water. Even in summer the shipping of the necessary supplies round Peloponnesus was a long and expensive process, while in winter it was sure to be perilous if not altogether impossible. The Athenians were therefore in bad humour, and repented them of having repulsed an embassy of the Lacedaemonians which had come to treat with them for a truce and peace. They had repulsed it because Cleon, chiefly on account of Nicias, was opposed to it. For he hated Nicias, and when he saw him zealously coöperating with the Lacedaemonians, persuaded the people to reject the truce. So when the siege grew longer and longer, and they learned that their forces were in terrible straits, they were angry with Cleon.

He, however, laid all the blame on Nicias, and denounced him, saying that it was through cowardice and weakness that he was letting the men on the island slip through his hands, whereas, had he

[1] In 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 54).

[2] In 425 B.C. The Pylos episode is narrated at great length by Thucydides (iv. 2–41).

ἂν περιγενομένους χρόνον τοσοῦτον, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰπεῖν παρέστη· "Τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς σὺ πλεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας;" ὅ τε Νικίας ἀναστὰς ἐξίστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλον στρατηγίας αὐτῷ, καὶ λαμβάνειν ὁπόσην βούλεται δύναμιν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ μὴ θρασύνεσθαι λόγοις ἀκινδύνοις, ἀλλ' ἔργον τι
4 τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖν ἄξιον σπουδῆς. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεδύετο, τῷ μὴ προσδοκῆσαι τοῦτο θορυβούμενος· ἐγκελευομένων δὲ ταὐτὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Νικίου καταβοῶντος, ἐξαρθεὶς καὶ ἀναφλεχθεὶς τὸ φιλότιμον ὑπεδέξατό τε τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ προσδιωρίσατο πλεύσας ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν ἢ κατακτενεῖν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ ζῶντας ἄξειν Ἀθήναζε. τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐπῆλθε γελάσαι μέγα μᾶλλον ἢ πιστεῦσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως εἰώθεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν κουφότητα καὶ μανίαν φέρειν μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐκ ἀηδῶς.

5 Λέγεται γὰρ ἐκκλησίας ποτὲ οὔσης τὸν μὲν δῆμον καθήμενον ἄνω περιμένειν πολὺν χρόνον, ὀψὲ δ' εἰσελθεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐστεφανωμένον καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς αὔριον· "'Ασχολοῦμαι γάρ," ἔφη, "σήμερον, ἐστιᾶν μέλλων ξένους καὶ τεθυκὼς τοῖς θεοῖς." τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους γελάσαντας ἀναστῆναι καὶ διαλῦσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τύχῃ χρησάμενος ἀγαθῇ καὶ στρατηγήσας ἄριστα μετὰ Δημοσθένους, ἐντὸς οὗ προεῖπε χρόνου τῶν Σπαρτια- 528

himself been general instead of Nicias, they would not have held out so long. Thereupon it occurred to the Athenians to say: "It's not too late! Why don't you sail yourself and fetch the men?" Nicias too rose in the assembly and resigned his command of the expedition to Pylos in favour of Cleon, bidding him take as large a force as he wished, and not to vent his boldness in mere words which brought no peril with them, but to perform some deed for the city which would be worth its notice. At first Cleon tried to draw back, confused by the unexpectedness of this offer; but the Athenians kept up the same cries of encouragement, and Nicias kept taunting him, until, his ambition incited and on fire, he undertook the command, and, besides, declared in so many words that within twenty days after sailing he would either slay the men on the island or bring them alive to Athens. The Athenians were moved to hearty laughter at this rather than to belief in it, for they were already in the way of treating his mad vanity as a joke, and a pleasant one too.

It is said, for instance, that once when the assembly was in session, the people sat out on the Pnyx a long while waiting for him to address them, and that late in the day he came in all garlanded for dinner and asked them to adjourn the assembly to the morrow. "I'm busy to-day," he said, "I'm going to entertain some guests, and have already sacrificed to the gods." The Athenians burst out laughing, then rose up and dissolved the assembly.

VIII. However, this time he had good fortune, served as general most successfully along with Demosthenes, and within the time which he had

τῶν ὅσοι μὴ κατὰ μάχην ἔπεσον τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἤγαγεν αἰχμαλώτους. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Νικίᾳ μεγάλην ἤνεγκεν ἀδοξίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀσπίδος ῥῖψις, ἀλλ' αἴσχιόν τι καὶ χεῖρον ἐδόκει τὸ δειλίᾳ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἑκουσίως, καὶ προέσθαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ τηλικούτου κατορθώματος ἀφορμάς, αὐτὸν ἀποχειροτονήσαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς.

2 σκώπτει δ' αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα πάλιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν μὲν Ὄρνισιν οὕτω πως λέγων·

> Καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐχὶ νυστάζειν γ' ἔτι
> ὥρα 'στὶν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ μελλονικιᾶν.

ἐν δὲ Γεωργοῖς ταῦτα γράφων·

> Α. Ἐθέλω γεωργεῖν. Β. εἶτα τίς σε κωλύει;
> Α. ὑμεῖς· ἐπεὶ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμάς,
> ἐάν με τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀφῆτε. Β. δεχόμεθα·
> δισχίλιαι γάρ εἰσι σὺν ταῖς Νικίου.

3 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔβλαψεν οὐ μικρὰ τῷ Κλέωνι τοσοῦτον προσγενέσθαι δόξης ἐάσας καὶ δυνάμεως, ὑφ' ἧς εἰς βαρὺ φρόνημα καὶ θράσος ἐμπεσὼν ἀκάθεκτον ἄλλας τε τῇ πόλει προσετρίψατο συμφοράς, ὧν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυσε, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κόσμον ἀνελὼν καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν ἀνακραγὼν καὶ περισπάσας τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν μηρὸν πατάξας

specified brought home as prisoners of war, their arms surrendered, all the Spartans on Sphacteria who had not fallen in battle. This success of Cleon's brought great discredit on Nicias. He was thought not merely to have cast away his shield, but to have done something far more disgraceful and base in voluntarily throwing up his command out of cowardice, and in abandoning to his enemy the opportunity for so great a success,—actually voting himself out of office. For this, Aristophanes again scoffs at him in his "Birds," in words like these:—

"And lo! by Zeus! we can no longer doze about,—
We have no time,—nor shilly-shally-niciasize;" [1]

and in his "Farmers," where he writes:—

"I want to go a-farming."
"Pray who hinders you?"
"You people do. Come! Let me give a thousand drachms
If you'll release me from my offices."
"'Tis done!
Yours make two thousand, counting those that Nicias gave." [2]

And besides, he wrought no little harm to the city in allowing Cleon to have such an access of reputation and influence that he launched out into offensive pride and ungovernable boldness and inflicted many mischiefs on the city, the bitter fruits of which he himself reaped most abundantly. Worst of all, Cleon stripped the bema of its decorum, setting the fashion of yelling when he harangued the people, of throwing back his robe, slapping his

[1] Verses 638 f.

[2] This play is not extant. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 416.

καὶ δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἅμα χρησάμενος, τὴν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέασαν εὐχέρειαν καὶ ὀλιγωρίαν τοῦ πρέποντος ἐνεποίησε τοῖς πολιτευομένοις.

IX. Ἤδη δέ που καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνεφύετο τηνικαῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημαγωγὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄκρατος, ἀλλ' οἷον ἡ Αἰγυπτίων χώρα λέγεται δι' ἀρετὴν ἐκφέρειν ὁμοῦ

Φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά,

οὕτως ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπ' ἀμφότερα πολλὴ ῥυεῖσα καὶ λαμπρά, μεγάλων ἐνέδωκεν ἀρχὰς
2 νεωτερισμῶν. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγεὶς τοῦ Κλέωνος ὁ Νικίας καιρὸν ἔσχε παντάπασιν ἀναπαῦσαι καὶ καταστορέσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὁδὸν τὰ πράγματα σωτήριον καταστήσας ἐξέπεσε, ῥύμῃ καὶ σφοδρότητι τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου φιλοτιμίας αὖθις ἐξωσθεὶς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

Ἐπράχθη δὲ οὕτως. οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλέων καὶ Βρασίδας ἦσαν, ὧν ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκρυπτε τὴν κακίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκόσμει. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικημάτων μεγάλων, τῷ δὲ κατορθωμάτων ἀφορ-
3 μὰς παρεῖχε. τούτων οὖν ἅμα πεσόντων ἐν μάχῃ μιᾷ περὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, εὐθὺς ὁ Νικίας παραλαβὼν τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἔκπαλαι τῆς εἰρήνης ὀρεγομένους, τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι τῷ πολέμῳ θαρροῦντας, ἀμφοτέρους δ' οἷον ἐκλελυμένους καὶ

thigh, and running about while speaking. He thus imbued the managers of the city's policies with that levity and contempt for propriety which soon after confounded the whole state.

IX. Just about that time Alcibiades was beginning to be a power at Athens. For a popular leader he was not so unmixed an evil as Cleon. The soil of Egypt, it is said, by reason of its very excellence, produces alike

> "Drugs of which many are good, intermixed, but many are deadly."[1]

In like manner the nature of Alcibiades, setting as it did with full and strong currents towards both good and evil, furnished cause and beginning for serious innovations. And so it came to pass that even after Nicias was rid of Cleon, he did not get opportunity to lull the city into perfect rest and calm, but, when he had actually set the state fairly in the path of safety, was hurled from it by an impetuous onset of Alcibiades' ambition, and plunged again into war.

This was the way it came about. The men most hostile to the peace of Hellas were Cleon and Brasidas. Of these, war covered up the baseness of the one and adorned the excellence of the other; that is to say, it gave the one opportunities for great iniquities, the other for great achievements. After these men had both fallen in one and the same battle before Amphipolis,[2] Nicias found at once that the Spartans had long been eager for peace, and that the Athenians were no longer in good heart for the war; that both were, so to speak, unstrung, and glad to let

[1] *Odyssey*, iv. 230.

[2] In the autumn of 422 B.C. Cf. Thuc. v. 8–11.

παρακαθιέντας ἑκουσίως τὰς χεῖρας, ἔπραττεν ὅπως εἰς φιλίαν τὰς πόλεις συναγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἀπαλλάξας κακῶν καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος, βέβαιον οὕτω τὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὄνομα
4 πρὸς τὸν αὖθις χρόνον ποιοῖτο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν εὐπόρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτόθεν εἰρηνικὸν εἶχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοῖς ἐντυγχάνων ἰδίᾳ καὶ διδάσκων ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ἤδη τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἐλπίδας ἐνδιδοὺς προεκαλεῖτο καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἔχεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' ἐπίστευον αὐτῷ διά τε τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιείκειαν, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἡλωκόσι περὶ Πύλον καὶ δεδεμένοις ἐπιμελόμενος καὶ περιέπων φιλανθρώπως ἐλαφρο-
5 τέραν ἐποίει τὴν ἀτυχίαν. ἦσαν οὖν πρότερον πεποιημένοι τινὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκεχειρίαν ἐνιαύσιον, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ γευόμενοι πάλιν ἀδείας καὶ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ οἰκείους ἐπιμιξίας, ἐπόθουν τὸν ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀπό- 529
λεμον βίον, ἡδέως μὲν ᾀδόντων τὰ τοιαῦτα χορῶν ἀκούοντες·

Κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις·

ἡδέως δὲ μεμνημένοι τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι τοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεύδοντας οὐ σάλπιγγες, ἀλλ' ἀλεκ-
6 τρυόνες ἀφυπνίζουσι. λοιδοροῦντες οὖν καὶ προβαλλόμενοι τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς τρὶς ἐννέα ἔτη διαπολεμηθῆναι πέπρωται τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπειθ'

their arms drop to their sides. He therefore strove to unite the two cities in friendship, and to free the rest of the Hellenes from ills, as well as to give himself a season of rest, and so to make secure for all coming time the name which he had for success. The men who were well-to-do, and the elderly men, and most of the farmers, he found inclined to peace from the first; and after he had talked privately with many of the rest, taught them his views, and blunted the edge of their desire for war, then he at once held out hopes to the Spartans, and urgently invited them to seek for peace. They had confidence in him, not only because of his usual fairness towards them, but especially because he had shown kind attentions to those of their men who had been captured at Pylos and kept in prison at Athens, had treated them humanely, and so eased their misfortune. The two parties had before this made a sort of stay of mutual hostilities for a year, and during this time they had held conferences with one another, and tasted again the sweets of security and leisure and intercourse with friends at home and abroad, so that they yearned for that old life which was undefiled by war, and listened gladly when choirs sang such strains as

> "Let my spear lie unused for the spider to
> cover with webs" [1]

and gladly called to mind the saying, "In peace the sleeper is waked not by the trumpet, but by the cock." Accordingly, they heaped abuse on those who said that the war was fated to last thrice nine

[1] The first verse of a beautiful fragment of the *Erechtheus* of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2] p. 474).

οὕτω περὶ παντὸς εἰς λόγους συμβαίνοντες ἐποιήσαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, δόξα τε παρέστη τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπαλλαγὴν κακῶν σαφῆ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸν Νικίαν διὰ στόματος εἶχον, ὡς ἀνὴρ εἴη θεοφιλὴς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ δι' εὐσέβειαν ἐπωνύμῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ καλλίστου τῶν ἀγα-
7 θῶν δέδωκε· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι Νικίου τὴν εἰρήνην ἐνόμιζον ἔργον, ὡς Περικλέους τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' αἰτίαις μικραῖς εἰς συμφορὰς μεγάλας ἐμβαλεῖν ἐδόκει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὁ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἔπεισεν ἐκλαθέσθαι φίλους γενομένους. διὸ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκείνην ἄχρι νῦν Νικίειον καλοῦσι.

Χ. Γενομένων δὲ συνθηκῶν ὅπως τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἃς εἶχον ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδιδῶσι, προτέρων ἀποδιδόντων τῶν κλήρῳ λαχόντων, ὠνήσατο τὸν κλῆρον ὁ Νικίας κρύφα χρήμασιν, ὥστε προτέρους ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς
2 Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς τὰ πραττόμενα δυσκολαίνοντες αἰτίαις καὶ μέμψεσιν αὖθις ἐδόκουν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπεισεν ὁ Νικίας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὴν συμμαχίαν ὥσπερ κράτος ἢ δεσμὸν ἐπιθέντας, φοβερωτέρους τε τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις καὶ βεβαιοτέρους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι.
3 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὔτε πρὸς ἡσυχίαν εὖ πεφυκώς, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαι-

years,[1] and then, in this spirit, debated the whole issue, and made peace.[2] Most men held it to be a manifest release from ills, and Nicias was in every mouth. They said he was a man beloved of God, and that Heaven had bestowed on him, for his reverent piety, the privilege of giving his name to the greatest and fairest of blessings. They really thought that the peace was the work of Nicias, as the war had been that of Pericles. The one, on slight occasion, was thought to have plunged the Hellenes into great calamities; the other had persuaded them to forget the greatest injuries and become friends. Therefore, to this day, men call that peace "The Peace of Nicias."

X. The articles of peace[3] required that the strongholds and cities and prisoners of war which each party had taken from the other should be restored, and since that party was to make restoration first on whom the lot fell, the lot was secretly bought up by Nicias, so that the Lacedaemonians were the first to make restoration. This is the testimony of Theophrastus. But when the Corinthians and Boeotians, who were vexed at the course things were taking, seemed likely, by their accusations and complaints, to revive the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedaemonians to make the general peace secure by the mighty bond of a mutual alliance, whereby they should become more formidable to all seceders and better assured of each other.

Such being the course of events, Alcibiades, who was naturally indisposed to be quiet, and who was incensed at the Lacedaemonians because they scorn-

[1] Cf. Thuc. v. 26, 4. [2] Signed in the spring of 421 B.C.
[3] Cf. Thuc. v. 18.

μονίοις ἀχθόμενος ὅτι τῷ Νικίᾳ προσέκειντο καὶ προσεῖχον, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπερεώρων καὶ κατεφρόνουν, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπεναντιωθεὶς τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀντιστὰς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ὁρῶν οὐκ ἔτι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως ἀρέσκοντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖν δοκοῦντας ὅτι Βοιωτοῖς ἔθεντο συμμαχίαν καὶ Πάνακτον ἐστῶσαν οὐ παρέδωκαν οὐδ' Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐπεφύετο ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ. 4 τέλος δὲ πρεσβείαν μεταπεμψάμενος Ἀργείων ἔπραττε συμμαχίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐλθόντες ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος αὐτοκράτορες καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προεντυγχάνοντες ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἥκειν τοῖς δικαίοις, δείσας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐπαγάγωνται, περιῆλθεν αὐτοὺς δι' ἀπάτης καὶ ὅρκων ὡς ἅπαντα συμπράξων, ἂν μὴ φῶσι μηδ' ὁμολογήσωσιν ἥκειν αὐτοκράτορες· μάλιστα γὰρ 5 οὕτως ἃ βούλονται γενήσεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ καὶ μεταστάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίου πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἐμβαλὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἠρώτα πρῶτον εἰ περὶ πάντων ἥκουσιν αὐτοκράτορες· ὡς δ' ἠρνοῦντο, παρ' ἐλπίδας μεταβαλόμενος τήν τε βουλὴν ἐπεκαλεῖτο μάρτυρα τῶν λόγων, καὶ τὸν

fully ignored him in their fond attachment to Nicias, promptly opposed and obstructed the general peace. At the outset he made no headway; but a little while after, seeing that the Athenians were not so well pleased as before with the Lacedaemonians, but thought they had wronged them in making a separate alliance with the Boeotians, and in not restoring Panactum with its walls intact, nor Amphipolis at all, he laid great stress on these grounds of complaint, and tried to incense the people over each one of them. Finally he managed to have an embassy sent from Argos to Athens,[1] and tried to effect a separate alliance between these two cities. Ambassadors came at once from Sparta with full powers to treat all issues, and at their preliminary audience with the council were declared by that body to come with nothing but just proposals. But Alcibiades was afraid they would bring the assembly over to their views with the same arguments which had won the council. He therefore circumvented them by deceitfully swearing that he would coöperate with them fully in the assembly if they would only not claim nor even admit that they had come with full powers to treat all issues; for thus, he declared, they would most surely attain their desires. After they were persuaded by him, and had put themselves out of the guiding hands of Nicias and into his, he introduced them to the assembly, and asked them first whether they had come with full powers to treat all issues. On their saying "No" to this, he surprised them by changing front and calling on the members of the council who were present to bear witness to what they had said before that body. He then urged the

[1] In the spring of 419 B.C.

δῆμον ἐκέλευε μὴ προσέχειν μηδὲ πιστεύειν οὕτω περιφανῶς ψευδομένοις καὶ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ
6 τἀναντία περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγουσι. θορυβουμένων δ', ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Νικίου μηδὲν ἔχοντος εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄχει καὶ θαύματι πεπληγότος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος εὐθὺς ὥρμητο τοὺς Ἀργείους καλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι συμμάχους, ἐβοήθησε δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ σεισμός τις διὰ μέσου γενόμενος καὶ διαλύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος πολλὰ ποιήσας καὶ εἰπὼν
ἔπεισε μόλις ἐπισχεῖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους, αὐτὸν 53
δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς πάντων καλῶς γενησομένων.
7 Ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς Σπάρτην τἆλλα μὲν ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήθη, πράξας δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν βοιωτιαζόντων ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐ μόνον ἀδοξῶν καὶ κακῶς ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδιὼς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λυπουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας ὅτι πεισθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἀπέδωκαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ἦσαν ἐξ οἴκων τε πρώτων τῆς Σπάρτης, καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τοὺς
8 δυνατωτάτους ἔχοντες. οὐ μὴν ἔπραξάν τι τραχύτερον ὀργῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο, καὶ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἠλείους Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντας ἐποιήσαντο συμμάχους μετ' Ἀργείων, καὶ λῃστὰς εἰς Πύλον

people not to follow, much less trust, men who were so manifestly liars, and who said now "Yes" and now "No" to the same question. The ambassadors were overwhelmed with confusion, naturally, and Nicias was unable to say a word,—struck dumb with amazement and anguish. Therefore the people were at once eager to call in the Argive embassy and make the alliance it desired, but there came a slight earthquake shock just then, luckily for Nicias, and the assembly was dissolved. On the following day, when the people had assembled again, by dint of great effort and much talking Nicias succeeded, with difficulty, in persuading them to refrain from the proposed arrangement with Argos, and to send him on an embassy to the Lacedaemonians, assuring them that everything would thus turn out well.

But when he came to Sparta, though in other ways he was honoured by them as a true man and one who had been zealous in their behalf, still, he accomplished nothing that he purposed, but was beaten by the party there which had Boeotian sympathies, and so came back home, not merely with loss of reputation and under harsh abuse, but actually in bodily fear of the Athenians. They were vexed and indignant because they had been persuaded by him to restore so many eminent prisoners of war; for the men who had been brought to the city from Pylos belonged to the leading families of Sparta, and the most influential men there were their friends and kinsmen. However, the Athenians took no very harsh measures in their anger against Nicias, but elected Alcibiades general, made an alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, who had seceded from the Lacedaemonians, as well as with the Argives, sent

ἔπεμψαν κακουργεῖν τὴν Λακωνικήν· ἐξ ὧν αὖθις εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XI. Ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διαφορᾶς, καὶ γιγνομένης ὀστρακοφορίας, ἣν εἰώθει διὰ χρόνου τινὸς ὁ δῆμος ποιεῖσθαι, ἕνα τῶν ὑπόπτων ἢ διὰ δόξαν ἄλλως ἢ πλοῦτον ἐπιφθόνων ἀνδρῶν τῷ ὀστράκῳ μεθιστὰς εἰς δέκα ἔτη, πολὺς θόρυβος ἀμφοτέρους περιΐστατο καὶ κίνδυνος, ὡς θατέρου πάντως ὑπο-
2 πεσουμένου τῷ ἐξοστρακισμῷ. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τὸν βίον ἐβδελύττοντο καὶ τὸ θράσος ὠρρώδουν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφομένοις δηλοῦται, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ὅ τε πλοῦτος ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει καὶ μάλιστα τῆς διαίτης τὸ μὴ φιλάνθρωπον μηδὲ δημοτικόν, ἀλλ' ἄμικτον καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἀλλόκοτον ἐδόκει, πολλὰ δ' ἤδη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν ἀντιτείνων, παρὰ γνώμην βια-
3 ζόμενος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπαχθὴς ἦν. ὡς δ' ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, νέων ἦν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἅμιλλα πρὸς εἰρηνοποιοὺς καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, τῶν μὲν εἰς τοῦτον, τῶν δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸ ὄστρακον τρεπόντων.

Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔμμορε τιμῆς· ὥς που καὶ τότε διαστὰς ὁ δῆμος δίχα χώραν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἰταμωτάτοις καὶ πανουργοτάτοις, ὧν

freebooters to Pylos to ravage Laconia, and thus plunged again into war.

XI. At last the feud between Nicias and Alcibiades became so intense that recourse was had to the process of ostracism. This the people used to institute from time to time when they wished to remove for ten years, by the ostrakon ballot, any one man who was an object of suspicion generally because of his great reputation, or of jealousy because of his great wealth. Both the rivals were thus involved in great confusion and peril, since one or the other must in any event succumb to the ostracism. In the case of Alcibiades, men loathed his manner of life and dreaded his boldness, as will be shown more at length in his biography; and in the case of Nicias, his wealth made him an object of jealousy. Above all else, his way of life, which was not genial nor popular but unsocial and aristocratic, seemed alien and foreign: and since he often opposed the people's desires and tried to force them against their wishes into the way of their advantage, he was burdensome to them. To tell the simple truth, it was a struggle between the young men who wanted war and the elderly men who wanted peace; one party proposed to ostracise Nicias, the other Alcibiades.

"But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour,"[1]

and so in this case also the people divided into two factions, and thereby made room for the most aggressive and mischievous men. Among these was

[1] A proverb in hexameter verse, attributed to Callimachus, the Alexandrian poet and scholar (310–235 B.C.).

ἦν καὶ Ὑπέρβολος ὁ Περιθοίδης, ἄνθρωπος ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς τολμῶν δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τολμᾶν εἰς δύναμιν προελθών, καὶ γενόμενος δι' ἣν εἶχεν
4 ἐν τῇ πόλει δόξαν ἀδοξία τῆς πόλεως. οὗτος ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τοῦ μὲν ὀστράκου πόρρω τιθέμενος ἑαυτόν, ἅτε δὴ τῷ κύφωνι μᾶλλον προσήκων, ἐλπίζων δὲ θατέρου τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκπεσόντος αὐτὸς ἀντίπαλος τῷ λειπομένῳ γενέσθαι, καταφανὴς ἦν ἡδόμενός τε τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ παροξύνων τὸν δῆμον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους. συνιδόντες οὖν τὴν μοχθηρίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ λόγον δόντες ἀλλήλοις κρύφα, καὶ τὰς στάσεις συναγαγόντες εἰς ἓν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἀναμίξαντες, ἐκράτησαν ὥστε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι.
5 καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ἡδονὴν τοῦτο καὶ γέλωτα τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἠγανάκτουν ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀνάξιον γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, εἶναι γάρ τι καὶ κολάσεως ἀξίωμα, μᾶλλον δὲ κόλασιν τὸν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἡγούμενοι Θουκυδίδῃ καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις, Ὑπερβόλῳ δὲ τιμὴν καὶ προσποίησιν ἀλαζονείας, εἰ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἔπαθε ταὐτὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ὥς που καὶ Πλάτων ὁ
6 κωμικὸς εἴρηκε περὶ αὐτοῦ·

> Καίτοι πέπραχε τῶν προτέρων[1] μὲν ἄξια,
> αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στιγμάτων ἀνάξια·
> οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἵνεκ' ὄστραχ' εὑρέθη.

[1] *τῶν προτέρων* a correction suggested by Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 654 : *τῶν τρόπων* (*a fate worthy of his ways*).

Hyperbolus of the deme Perithoedae, a man whose boldness was not due to any influence that he possessed, but who came to influence by virtue of his boldness, and became, by reason of the very credit which he had in the city, a discredit to the city. This fellow at that time thought himself beyond the reach of ostracism, since, indeed, he was a likelier candidate for the stocks; but he expected that when one of the rivals had been banished he might himself become a match for the one who was left, and so it was plain that he was pleased at their feud, and that he was inciting the people against both of them. Accordingly, when Nicias and Alcibiades became aware of his baseness, they took secret counsel with one another, united and harmonized their factions, and carried the day, so that neither of them was ostracised, but Hyperbolus instead.[1]

For the time being this delighted and amused the people, but afterwards they were vexed to think that the ordinance of ostracism had been degraded by its application to so unworthy a man. They thought that even chastisement had its dignity, or rather, they regarded the ostracism as a chastisement in the cases of Thucydides and Aristides and such men, but in the case of Hyperbolus as an honour, and as good ground for boasting on his part, since for his baseness he had met with the same fate as the best men. And so Plato the comic poet somewhere said of him:—

"Indeed he suffered worthy fate for men of old
Albeit a fate too good for him and for his brands.
For such as him the ostrakon was ne'er devised."

[1] Probably in 417 B.C.

καὶ τὸ πέρας οὐδεὶς ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐξωστρακίσθη μετὰ Ὑπέρβολον, ἀλλ' ἔσχατος ἐκεῖνος, 531
πρῶτος δ' Ἵππαρχος ὁ Χολαργεὺς συγγενής
τις ὢν τοῦ τυράννου.

7 Ἄκριτον δ' ἡ τύχη πρᾶγμα καὶ ἄληπτον λογισμῷ. Νικίας γάρ, εἰ τὸν περὶ ὀστράκου κίνδυνον ἀνέρριψε πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἢ κρατήσας ἂν ἀσφαλῶς ᾤκει τὴν πόλιν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελάσας, ἢ κρατηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξῄει πρὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀτυχιῶν, τὸ δοκεῖν ἄριστος εἶναι στρατηγὸς διαφυλάξας.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι Θεόφραστος ἐξοστρακισθῆναί φησι τὸν Ὑπέρβολον Φαίακος, οὐ Νικίου, πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐρίσαντος. ἀλλ' οἱ πλείονες οὕτω γεγράφασιν.

XII. Ὁ δ' οὖν Νικίας, τῶν Αἰγεστέων πρέσβεων καὶ Λεοντίνων παραγενομένων καὶ πειθόντων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, ἀνθιστάμενος ἡττᾶτο τῆς βουλῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ φιλοτιμίας, πρὶν ὅλως ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, κατασχόντος ἤδη πλῆθος ἐλπίσι καὶ λόγοις προδιεφθαρμένον, ὥστε καὶ νέους ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ γέροντας ἐν ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ ἡμικυκλίοις συγκαθεζομένους ὑπογράφειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν θαλάσσης, καὶ λιμένας καὶ τόπους οἷς τέτραπται πρὸς
2 Λιβύην ἡ νῆσος. οὐ γὰρ ἆθλον ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ πολέμου Σικελίαν, ἀλλ' ὁρμητήριον, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῆς διαγωνισόμενοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ σχήσοντες ἅμα Λιβύην καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θάλασσαν.

And in the end no one was ever ostracised after Hyperbolus, but he was the last, as Hipparchus of Cholargus, a kinsman of the famous tyrant Peisistratus, was the first to be so banished.[1]

Verily fortune is an uncertain thing, and incalculable. Had Nicias run the risk with Alcibiades of being ostracised, he had either carried the day, expelled his rival, and then dwelt safely in the city; or, defeated, he had himself gone forth from the city before his last misfortunes, and had preserved the reputation of being a most excellent general.

I am well aware that Theophrastus says that Hyperbolus was ostracised when Phaeax, and not Nicias, was striving against Alcibiades, but most writers state the case as I have done.

XII. It was Nicias, then, who, when an embassy came from Egesta and Leontini[2] seeking to persuade the Athenians to undertake an expedition against Sicily, opposed the measure, only to be defeated by the ambitious purposes of Alcibiades. Before the assembly had met at all, Alcibiades had already corrupted the multitude and got them into his power by means of his sanguine promises, so that the youth in their training-schools and the old men in their work-shops and lounging-places would sit in clusters drawing maps of Sicily, charts of the sea about it, and plans of the harbours and districts of the island which look towards Libya. For they did not regard Sicily itself as the prize of the war, but rather as a mere base of operations, purposing therefrom to wage a contest with the Carthaginians and get possession of both Libya and of all the sea this side the Pillars of Heracles.

[1] 488–487 B.C. [2] In the spring of 415 B.C.

Ὡς οὖν ὥρμηντο πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ Νικίας ἐναντιούμενος οὔτε πολλοὺς οὔτε δυνατοὺς εἶχε συναγωνιστάς. οἱ γὰρ εὔποροι δεδιότες μὴ δοκῶσι τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ τριηραρχίας ἀποδιδράσκειν, παρὰ γνώμην ἡσύχαζον· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔκαμνεν οὐδ' ἀπηγόρευεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἀθηναίους καὶ στρατηγὸν ἑλέσθαι πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον μετ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Λαμάχου, πάλιν ἐκκλησίας γενομένης, ἀναστὰς ἀπέτρεπε καὶ διεμαρτύρετο, καὶ τελευτῶν διέβαλε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἰδίων ἕνεκα κερδῶν καὶ φιλοτιμίας τὴν πόλιν εἰς χαλεπὸν ἐξωθεῖν καὶ διαπόντιον κίνδυνον. ἔπραξε δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἐμπειρίας δόξας ἐπιτηδειότερος εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔξειν πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου τόλμαν καὶ τὴν Λαμάχου τραχύτητα[1] τῆς ἐκείνου συγκεραννυμένης εὐλαβείας, βεβαιοτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀναστὰς γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παροξύνων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, Δημόστρατος, ἔφη τὸν Νικίαν προφάσεις λέγοντα παύσειν· καὶ ψήφισμα γράψας ὅπως αὐτοκράτορες ὦσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κἀνταῦθα κἀκεῖ βουλευόμενοι καὶ πράττοντες, ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ψηφίσασθαι.

XIII. Καίτοι λέγεται πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐναντιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν· ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ἔχων μάντεις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ δή τινων

[1] τραχύτητα Reiske's correction: πραότητα (*mildness*); cf. chapter xv. 1.

Since, therefore, their hearts were fixed on this, Nicias, in his opposition to them, had few men, and these of no influence, to contend on his side. For the well-to-do citizens feared accusations of trying to escape their contributions for the support of the navy, and so, despite their better judgement, held their peace. But Nicias did not faint nor grow weary. Even after the Athenians had actually voted for the war and elected him general first, and after him Alcibiades and Lamachus, in a second session of the assembly he rose and tried to divert them from their purpose by the most solemn adjurations, and at last accused Alcibiades of satisfying his own private greed and ambition in thus forcing the city into grievous perils beyond the seas. Still, he made no headway, nay, he was held all the more essential to the enterprise because of the experience from which he spoke. There would be great security, his hearers thought, against the daring of Alcibiades and the roughness of Lamachus, if his well known caution were blended with their qualities. And so he succeeded only in confirming the previous vote. For Demostratus, the popular leader who was most active in spurring the Athenians on to the war, rose and declared that he would stop the mouth of Nicias from uttering vain excuses; so he introduced a decree to the effect that the generals have full and independent powers in counsel and in action, both at home and at the seat of war, and persuaded the people to vote it.

XIII. And yet the priesthood also is said to have offered much opposition to the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners in his private service,

λογίων προϋφερε παλαιῶν μέγα κλέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἔσεσθαι. καὶ θεοπρόποι τινὲς αὐτῷ παρ' Ἄμμωνος ἀφίκοντο χρησμὸν κομίζοντες ὡς λήψονται Συρακουσίους ἅπαντας Ἀθηναῖοι· τὰ δ' ἐναντία φοβούμενοι δυσφημεῖν
2 ἔκρυπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ προῦπτα καὶ καταφανῆ τῶν σημείων ἀπέτρεπεν, ἥ τε τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπή, μιᾷ νυκτὶ πάντων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων πλὴν ἑνός, ὃν Ἀνδοκίδου καλοῦσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγηΐδος φυλῆς, κείμενον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τότε οὔσης Ἀνδοκίδου οἰκίας, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. ἄνθρωπος γάρ τις ἐξαίφνης ἀναπηδήσας ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἶτα περιβὰς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τὸ αἰδοῖον.
3 Ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς Παλλάδιον ἔστηκε χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ φοίνικος χαλκοῦ βεβηκός, ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀριστείων· τοῦτ' ἔκοπτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς προσπετόμενοι κόρακες, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ὄντα χρυσοῦν τοῦ φοίνικος
4 ἀπέτρωγον καὶ κατέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν 532
ἔφασαν εἶναι Δελφῶν πλάσματα πεπεισμένων ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων· χρησμοῦ δέ τινος κελεύοντος αὐτοὺς ἐκ Κλαζομενῶν τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγειν, μετεπέμψαντο τὴν ἄνθρωπον· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἡσυχία. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὃ παρήνει τῇ πόλει τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν.
5 Εἴτε δὴ ταῦτα δείσας εἴτ' ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ

and from sundry oracles reputed ancient he cited one saying that great fame would be won by the Athenians in Sicily. To his delight also certain envoys who had been sent to the shrine of Ammon [1] came back with an oracle declaring that the Athenians would capture all the Syracusans; but utterances of opposite import the envoys concealed, for fear of using words of ill omen. For no signs could deter the people from the expedition, were they never so obvious and clear, such as, for instance, the mutilation of the "Hermae." These statues were all disfigured in a single night, except one, called the Hermes of Andocides, a dedication of the Aegeïd tribe, standing in front of what was at that time the house of Andocides. Then there was the affair of the altar of the Twelve Gods. An unknown man leaped upon it all of a sudden, bestrode it, and then mutilated himself with a stone.

At Delphi, moreover, there stood a Palladium, made of gold and set upon a bronze palm tree, a dedication of the city of Athens from the spoils of her valour in the Persian wars. Ravens alighted on this image and pecked it for many days together; they also bit off the fruit of the palm-tree, which was of gold, and cast it down to the ground. The Athenians, it is true, said that this whole story was an invention of the Delphians, at the instigation of the Syracusans; but at any rate when a certain oracle bade them bring the priestess of Athena from Clazomenae, they sent and fetched the woman, and lo! her name was Peace. And this, as it seemed, was the advice which the divinity would give the city at that time, namely, to keep the peace.

It was either because he feared such signs as these,

[1] In an oasis of the Libyan desert. Cf. *Cimon*, xviii. 6 f.

τὴν στρατείαν φοβηθείς, ὁ ἀστρολόγος Μέτων (ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τινὸς τεταγμένος) προσεποιεῖτο τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάπτειν ὡς μεμηνώς. οἱ δέ φασιν οὐ μανίαν σκηψάμενον, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ ἐμπρήσαντα τὴν οἰκίαν προελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ταπεινόν, καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τοσαύτῃ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντα πλεῖν τριήραρχον εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφῶσι τῆς στρατείας.

6 Σωκράτει δὲ τῷ σοφῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον οἷς εἰώθει συμβόλοις χρησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμήνυσε κἀκεῖνα, τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως πραττόμενον. ὁ δὲ τοῖς συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις ἔφρασε, καὶ διῆλθεν εἰς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος.

7 Οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν αἷς τὸν στόλον ἐξέπεμπον ὑπέθραττεν. Ἀδώνια γὰρ εἶχον αἱ γυναῖκες τότε, καὶ προὔκειτο πολλαχόθι τῆς πόλεως εἴδωλα, καὶ ταφαὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κοπετοὶ γυναικῶν ἦσαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ ποιουμένους τινὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσχεραίνειν καὶ δεδιέναι περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐκείνης καὶ δυνάμεως, μὴ λαμπρύτητα καὶ ἀκμὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην σχοῦσα ταχέως μαρανθῇ.

XIV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐναντιωθῆναι ψηφιζομένῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν Νικίαν, καὶ μήθ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων ἐπαρθέντα μήτε πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος ἐκπλαγέντα μεταθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς ἦν χρηστοῦ καὶ σώφρονος· ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε τοῦ πολέμου

or because, from mere human calculation, he was alarmed about the expedition, that the astrologer Meton, who had been given a certain station of command, pretended to be mad and set his house on fire. Some, however, tell the story in this way: Meton made no pretence of madness, but burned his house down in the night, and then came forward publicly in great dejection and begged his fellow citizens, in view of the great calamity which had befallen him, to release from the expedition his son, who was about to sail for Sicily in command of a trireme. To Socrates the wise man also, his divine guide, making use of the customary tokens for his enlightenment, indicated plainly that the expedition would make for the ruin of the city. Socrates let this be known to his intimate friends, and the story had a wide circulation.

Not a few also were somewhat disconcerted by the character of the days in the midst of which they dispatched their armament. The women were celebrating at that time the festival of Adonis, and in many places throughout the city little images of the god were laid out for burial, and funeral rites were held about them, with wailing cries of women, so that those who cared anything for such matters were distressed, and feared lest that powerful armament, with all the splendour and vigour which were so manifest in it, should speedily wither away and come to naught.

XIV. Now, that Nicias should oppose the voting of the expedition, and should not be so buoyed up by vain hopes nor so crazed by the magnitude of his command as to change his real opinion,—this marked him as a man of honesty and discretion. But when

τὸν δῆμον ἀποτρέψαι πειρώμενος οὔθ' αὑτὸν ἐξελέσθαι τῆς στρατηγίας δεόμενος ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀράμενος καὶ φέρων αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπέθηκε
2 τῇ δυνάμει στρατηγόν, οὐδεὶς ἔτι καιρὸς ἦν τῆς πολλῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ μελλήσεως, ὥστε παιδὸς δίκην ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ὀπίσω βλέποντα καὶ τὸ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ στρέφοντα πολλάκις ἐναμβλῦναι καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν διαφθεῖραι τῶν πράξεων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἔδει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμφύντα καὶ προσκείμενον ἐλέγχειν τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ τῶν
3 ἀγώνων. ὁ δέ, Λαμάχου μὲν ἄντικρυς ἀξιοῦντος πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ μάχην ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τιθέναι, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφιστάναι Συρακουσίων, εἶθ' οὕτως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν, τὰ ἐναντία λέγων καὶ κελεύων ἀτρέμα παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν κομιζομένους καὶ περιπλέοντας ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, εἶτ' ἀποπλεῖν Ἀθήναζε μικρὸν τῆς δυνάμεως Αἰγεστεῦσιν ἀπαρξαμένους, αὐτίκα τε τὴν γνώμην ὑπεξέλυσε καὶ κατέβαλε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

4 Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἀθηναίων μεταπεμψαμένων εἰς κρίσιν, λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς δεύτερος ἡγεμών, δυνάμει δὲ μόνος ὤν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο καθήμενος ἢ περιπλέων ἢ βουλευόμενος, πρὶν ἐγγηρᾶσαι μὲν αὐτῷ[1] τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐκρυῆναι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ θάμβος καὶ τὸν φόβον ὃν ἡ πρώτη παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὄψις τῶν δυνάμεων.

[1] αὐτῷ MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: αὐτῶν.

he availed naught either in his efforts to divert the people from the war or in his desire to be relieved of his command,—the people as it were picking him up bodily and setting him over their forces as general,—then it was no longer a time for the exceeding caution and hesitation which he displayed, gazing back homewards from his ship like a child, and many times resuming and dwelling on the thought that the people had not yielded to his reasonings, till he took the edge from the zeal of his colleagues in command and lost the fittest time for action. He ought rather at once to have engaged the enemy at close quarters and put fortune to the test in struggles for the mastery. Instead of this, while Lamachus urged that they sail direct to Syracuse and give battle close to the city, and Alcibiades that they rob the Syracusans of their allied cities first and then proceed against them, Nicias proposed and urged in opposition that they make their way quietly by sea along the coasts of Sicily, circumnavigate the island, make a display of their troops and triremes, and then sail back to Athens, after having first culled out a small part of their force to give the Egestaeans a taste of succor. In this way he soon relaxed the resolution and depressed the spirits of his men.

After a little while the Athenians summoned Alcibiades home to stand his trial, and then Nicias, who nominally had still a colleague in the command, but really wielded sole power, made no end of sitting idle, or cruising aimlessly about, or taking deliberate counsel, until the vigorous hopes of his men grew old and feeble, and the consternation and fear with which the first sight of his forces had filled his enemies slowly subsided.

5 Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου παρόντος ἐξήκοντα
ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας
ἀνεῖχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λιμένος ἔξω παρατάξαντες,
δέκα δὲ κατήλαυνον εἴσω κατασκοπῆς εἵνεκα· καὶ
Λεοντίνους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποκαλοῦσαι διὰ
κήρυκος, αὗται λαμβάνουσι ναῦν πολεμίαν σανί-
δας κομίζουσαν, εἰς ἃς ἀπεγράφοντο κατὰ φυλὰς
αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακούσιοι· κείμεναι δ' ἄπωθεν τῆς
πόλεως ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου τότε πρὸς ἐξέ-
τασιν καὶ κατάλογον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μετεπέμφθη-
6 σαν. ὡς οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἁλοῦσαι πρὸς 533
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκομίσθησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
ὤφθη τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἠχθέσθησαν οἱ μάντεις μή
ποτε ἄρα τὸ χρεὼν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρησμοῦ περαίνοι,
λέγοντος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λήψονται Συρακουσίους
ἅπαντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ[1] φασιν ἔργῳ τοῦτο
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι ἐπιτελὲς καθ' ὃν χρόνον
ἀποκτείνας Δίωνα Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔσχε
Συρακούσας.

XV. Ἀποπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μετ'
ὀλίγον ἐκ Σικελίας, τὸ πᾶν ἤδη κράτος ὁ Νικίας
ἔσχεν. ὁ δὲ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν ἀνδρώδης καὶ δίκαιος
ἀνὴρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ χρώμενος ἀφειδῶς κατὰ τὰς
μάχας, πένης δὲ τοσοῦτον καὶ λιτὸς ὥστε καθ'
ἑκάστην στρατηγίαν ἀπολογίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις μικρὸν ἀργύριον εἰς ἐσθῆτα καὶ κρηπῖδας
2 ἑαυτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Νικίου καὶ διὰ τἆλλα μέγας ἦν

[1] ἑτέρῳ MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: ἕτεροι (*others say that the prophesy was really fulfilled, etc.*).

While Alcibiades was yet with the fleet, sixty ships sailed for Syracuse, of which fifty lay out in the offing, drawn up so as to command the harbour, while ten rowed in to reconnoitre. These made formal proclamation by voice of herald that the people of Leontini should return to their homes. They also captured a ship of the enemy with tablets on board in which the Syracusans had recorded lists of their citizens by tribes. These lists had been deposited at some distance from the city, in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, but had been sent for at that time with a view to determining and enrolling those who had come to military age. Now when these had been captured by the Athenians and brought to their generals, and the number of names was seen, the soothsayers were in distress lest in this circumstance lie the fulfilment of what was predicted by the oracle which said: "The Athenians shall take all the Syracusans." However, they say that it was in another circumstance altogether that this prophecy was fulfilled for the Athenians, namely, at the time when Callippus the Athenian slew Dion and got possession of Syracuse.[1]

XV. A little while after this Alcibiades sailed away from Sicily,[2] and then Nicias took the entire command. Lamachus was, it is true, a sturdy and honourable man, one who put forth his might without stint in battle, but so poor and petty that in every campaign where he served as general he would charge up to the Athenian people certain trifling moneys for his own clothes and boots. Nicias, on the contrary, was a man of great dignity and im-

[1] In 353 B.C. See Plutarch, *Dion*, liv.–lvii.
[2] See the *Alcibiades*, xxi. 1.

καὶ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὁ ὄγκος. λέγεται δ' ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ ποτὲ βουλευομένων τι κοινῇ τῶν συναρχόντων, κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτος εἰπεῖν γνώμην Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν συστρατήγων, "'Εγώ," φάναι, "παλαιότατος εἰμί, σὺ δὲ πρεσβύτατος."

3 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Λάμαχον ἄγων ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατηγικώτερον ὄντα, καὶ χρώμενος εὐλαβῶς καὶ διὰ μελλήσεως ἀεὶ τῇ δυνάμει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπωτάτω τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπεριπλέων Σικελίαν θάρσος ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα προσβαλὼν Ὕβλῃ, πολιχνίῳ μικρῷ, καὶ πρὶν ἐλεῖν ἀποστάς,

4 κομιδῇ κατεφρονήθη. καὶ τέλος εἰς Κατάνην ἀπῆλθε πράξας οὐδὲν ἢ καταστρεψάμενος Ἴκκαρα, βαρβαρικὸν χωρίον, ὅθεν λέγεται καὶ Λαΐδα τὴν ἑταίραν ἔτι κόρην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις πραθεῖσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κομισθῆναι.

XVI. Τοῦ δὲ θέρους διελθόντος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπυνθάνετο προτέρους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι τεθαρρηκότας, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς ὕβρει προσελαύνοντες ἤδη πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠρώτων εἰ Καταναίοις συνοικήσοντες ἢ Λεοντίνους κατοικιοῦντες ἥκουσι, μόλις ὁ Νικίας ὥρμησε πλεῖν ἐπὶ

2 Συρακούσας. καὶ βουλόμενος ἀδεῶς καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἰδρῦσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπέπεμψεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Κατάνης κελεύοντα τοὺς Συρακουσίους, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὸ στρατό-

portance, especially because of his wealth and reputation. It is said that once at the War Department, when his fellow commanders were deliberating on some matter of general moment, he bade Sophocles the poet state his opinion first, as being the senior general on the Board. Thereupon Sophocles said: "I am the oldest man, but you are the senior general."

So also in the present case he brought Lamachus under his orders, although more of a general than himself, and, always using his forces in a cautious and hesitating manner, he first gave the enemy courage by cruising around Sicily as far as possible from them, and then, by attacking the diminutive little city of Hybla, and going off without taking it, he won their utter contempt. Finally, he went back to Catana without effecting anything at all except the overthrow of Hyccara, a barbarian fastness. From this place it is said that Laïs the courtesan was sold as a prisoner of war, being still a girl, and brought into Peloponnesus.

XVI. The summer was now spent when Nicias learned that the Syracusans had plucked up courage and were going to take the initiative and come out against him. Their horsemen already had the insolence to ride up to the Athenian camp and ask its occupants whether they had come to share the homes of the Catanians or to restore the Leontines to their old homes. At last, therefore, and reluctantly, Nicias set out to sail against Syracuse. Wishing to establish his forces there deliberately and without fear of interruption from the enemy, he secretly sent on a man of Catana with a message for the Syracusans: if they wished to find the camp and

πεδον καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ πρὸς Κατάνην πανστρατιᾷ παραγενέσθαι, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πλεῖστα διατριβόντων ἐγνωκέναι τοὺς Συρακουσίων φίλους, ὅταν ἐκείνους προσιόντας αἴσθωνται, τάς τε πύλας καταλαμβάνειν ἅμα καὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον ὑποπιμπράναι· πολλοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς συνεστῶτας ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων περιμένοντας ἄφιξιν.

3 Τοῦτ' ἄριστα Νικίας ἐστρατήγησε περὶ Σικελίαν. πανστρατιᾷ γὰρ ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμοῦ τι ποιήσας ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν, αὐτὸς ἐκ Κατάνης ἀναχθεὶς τῶν τε λιμένων ἐκράτησε καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατέλαβε χώραν, ὅθεν ἥκιστα βλαπτόμενος οἷς ἐλείπετο τῶν πολεμίων, ἤλπιζεν ἐξ ὧν ἐθάρρει πολεμήσειν ἀκωλύτως.

4 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναστρέψαντες ἐκ Κατάνης οἱ Συρακούσιοι παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπαγαγὼν ταχὺ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκράτησε. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἐμποδὼν ἐγένοντο τῇ διώξει· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ διαφθείρων καὶ ἀποκόπτων τὰς γεφύρας, παρέσχεν Ἑρμοκράτει λέγειν παραθαρρύνοντι τοὺς Συρακουσίους

5 ὅτι γελοῖός ἐστιν ὁ Νικίας, ὅπως οὐ μαχεῖται στρατηγῶν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχῃ πεπλευκώς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φόβον τε καὶ κατάπληξιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, ὥστ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὄντων τότε πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγῶν ἑτέρους ἑλέσθαι τρεῖς, οἷς πίστιν ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος δι' ὅρκων, 534
ἢ μὴν ἐάσειν ἄρχειν αὐτοκράτορας.

equipment of the Athenians abandoned of defenders, they must come in full force to Catana on a given day, for that the friends of the Syracusans in the city, where the Athenians spent most of their time, had determined, on perceiving their approach, to seize the gates and set fire to the Athenian fleet; the conspirators were already many and awaited their coming.

This was the best generalship that Nicias displayed in Sicily. He brought his enemy out of their city in full force, thereby almost emptying it of defenders, while he himself put out to sea from Catana, got control of the enemy's harbours, and seized a spot for his camp where he was confident that he would suffer least injury from that arm of the service in which he was inferior, the cavalry, and meet no hindrance in fighting with that arm whereon he most relied. When the Syracusans hurried back from Catana and drew up in order of battle before their own city, Nicias led his Athenians swiftly against them and carried the day. He did not slay many of the enemy, it is true, for their horsemen prevented his pursuit; he had to content himself with cutting to pieces and destroying the bridges over the river, and thus gave Hermocrates occasion to say, as he sought to encourage the Syracusans, that Nicias was ridiculous in manœuvring so as not to give battle, as though it was not for battle that he had crossed the seas. However, he did infuse fear and mighty consternation into the Syracusans, so that in place of their fifteen generals then in office they elected three others, to whom the people pledged themselves under oath that they would surely suffer them to command with full and independent powers.

6 Τοῦ δ' Ὀλυμπιείου πλησίον ὄντος ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καταλαβεῖν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῷ χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων. ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἐπίτηδες ἀναβαλλόμενος ὑστέρησε καὶ περιεῖδε φρουρὰν εἰσελθοῦσαν παρὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἡγούμενος, ἐὰν τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν κοινὸν οὐκ ὠφεληθήσεσθαι,
7 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν αὐτὸς ἕξειν τοῦ ἀσεβήματος. τῇ δὲ νίκῃ περιβοήτῳ γενομένῃ χρησάμενος εἰς οὐδέν, ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων αὖθις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Νάξον, κἀκεῖ διεχείμασε, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλίσκων στρατιᾷ τοσαύτῃ, πράττων δὲ μικρὰ πρὸς Σικελούς τινας ἀφισταμένους πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε τοὺς Συρακουσίους αὖθις ἀναθαρρήσαντας ἐξελάσαι πρὸς Κατάνην καὶ τήν τε χώραν τεμεῖν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακαῦσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

8 Ἃ δὴ πάντες ᾐτιῶντο τὸν Νικίαν, ὡς ἐν τῷ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ μέλλειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τῶν πράξεων ἀπολλύντα καιρόν· ἐπεὶ τάς γε πράξεις οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐμέμψατο τοῦ ἀνδρός· ὁρμήσας γὰρ ἦν ἐνεργὸς καὶ δραστήριος, τολμῆσαι δὲ μελλητὴς καὶ ἄτολμος.

XVII. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐκίνησε τὴν στρατιὰν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας, οὕτως ἐστρατήγησε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὀξύτητος ἅμα καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐπῆλθεν, ὥστε λαθεῖν μὲν εἰς Θάψον ταῖς ναυσὶ προσμίξας καὶ ἀποβάς, φθάσαι δὲ τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς

The Olympieum was hard by, and the Athenians set out to seize it, inasmuch as it contained many offerings of gold and silver. But Nicias purposely delayed operations until it was too late, and allowed a garrison from Syracuse to enter in, because he thought that if his soldiers plundered the temple's treasures the commonwealth would get no advantage from it, and he himself would incur the blame for the sacrilege. Of his victory, which was so noised about, he made no use whatever, but after a few days had elapsed withdrew again to Naxos, and there spent the winter, making large outlays on his vast armament, but effecting little in his negotiations with the few Sicels who thought of coming over to his side. The Syracusans therefore plucked up courage again, marched out to Catana, ravaged the fields, and burnt what had been the Athenian camp.

These things all men laid to the charge of Nicias, since, as they said, by his excessive calculation and hesitation and caution he let the proper time for action go by for ever. When he was once in action no one could find fault with the man, for after he had set out to do a thing he was vigorous and effective; but in venturing out to do it he was hesitating and timid.

XVII. At any rate, when he moved his armament back to Syracuse,[1] he showed such generalship, and made his approach with such speed and safety, that he put in at Thapsus with his fleet and landed his men unobserved, seized Epipolae[2] before the

[1] In the spring of 414 B.C., as described by Thucydides in vi. 97.

[2] A triangular plateau, rising gradually to the westwards of Syracuse, visible from the interior of the city, and surrounded by precipitous cliffs.

κατασχών, τῶν δὲ προσβοηθούντων λογάδων κρατήσας ἑλεῖν μὲν τριακοσίους, τρέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἵππον τῶν πολεμίων ἄμαχον εἶναι δοκοῦσαν.

2 Ὁ δὲ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ Συκελιώτας ἐξέπληξε καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπιστίαν παρέσχεν, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ περιετείχισε Συρακούσας, πόλιν Ἀθηνῶν οὐκ ἐλάττονα, δυσεργοτέραν δὲ χωρίων ἀνωμαλίαις καὶ θαλάσσῃ γειτνιώσῃ καὶ παρακειμένοις ἕλεσι τεῖχος κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον
3 ἀγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσασθαι μικρὸν ἐδέησε τοῦ παντὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐδ' ὑγιαίνοντι χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τοσαύτας φροντίδας, ἀλλὰ νόσον νοσῶν νεφρῖτιν, ἧς τὸ μὴ προσεκπονηθὲν λεῖμμα ποιεῖσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστι. θαυμάζω δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
4 ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐν οἷς κατώρθουν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐριπίδης μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον γράφων ἐπικήδειον ἐποίησεν·

Οἵδε Συρακοσίους ὀκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν
Ἄνδρες, ὅτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις·

5 οὐκ ὀκτὼ δὲ νίκας, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ἄν τις εὕροι Συρακουσίους νενικημένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πρὶν ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἢ τύχης ἀντίστασίν τινα γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αἱρομένοις δυνάμεως.

XVIII. Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πλείσταις πράξεσι βιαζόμενος τὸ σῶμα παρῆν ὁ Νικίας· ἀκμὴν δέ ποτε τῆς ἀρρωστίας λαβούσης ὁ μὲν ἐν τείχεσι μετ'

enemy could prevent, defeated the picked companies which came to its rescue, killing three hundred men, and even routed the cavalry of the enemy, which was thought to be invincible.

But what most of all filled the Sicilians with terror and the Hellenes with incredulity was the fact that in a short time he carried a wall around Syracuse, a city fully as large as Athens, although the unevenness of the territory about it, its proximity to the sea and its adjacent marshes, made the task of surrounding it with such a wall very difficult. But he came within an ace of bringing this great task to completion,—a man who had not even sound health for such concerns, but was sick of a disease in the kidneys. To this it is only fair to ascribe the fact that part of the work was unfinished. I can but admire the watchful care of the general and the noble valour of his soldiers in what they did accomplish. Euripides, after their defeat and destruction, composed an epitaph for them, in which he said :—

"These men at Syracuse eight times were triumphant as victors ;
Heroes they were while the gods favoured both causes alike." [1]

And not eight times only, nay, more than that you will find that the Syracusans were beaten by them, until the gods, as the poet says, or fortune, became hostile to the Athenians at the very pinnacle of their power.

XVIII. Now in most actions Nicias took part, despite his bodily infirmity. But once, when his weakness was extreme, he was lying in bed within

[1] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.[4] p. 265.

ὀλίγων ὑπηρετῶν κατέκειτο, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν ἔχων ὁ Λάμαχος προσεμάχετο τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος ἀνάγουσι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃ κωλύσειν ἔμελλε διὰ μέσου τὸν ἀποτειχισμόν. τῷ δὲ κρατεῖν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτακτότερον φερομένων πρὸς τὰς διώξεις, ἀπομονωθεὶς ὁ Λάμαχος ὑπέστη τῶν Συρακουσίων τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπιφερομένους. ἦν δὲ πρῶτος αὐτῶν Καλλικράτης, ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ θυμοειδής. πρὸς τοῦτον ἐκ προκλήσεως καταστὰς ὁ Λάμαχος ἐμονομάχησε, καὶ λαβὼν πληγὴν πρότερος, εἶτα δοὺς καὶ πεσὼν ὁμοῦ συναπέθανε τῷ Καλλικράτει. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κρατήσαντες αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξῆραν οἱ Συρακούσιοι, δρόμῳ δ' ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ τείχη 535
τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν οἷς ὁ Νικίας ἦν οὐκ ἔχων τοὺς βοηθοῦντας. ὅμως δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐξαναστὰς καὶ κατιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὅσα ξύλα πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐτύγχανεν εἰς μηχανὰς παραβεβλημένα, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτὰς πῦρ κομίσαντας ἅψαι. τοῦτο τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπέσχε καὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἔσωσε καὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων· φλόγα γὰρ ἀρθεῖσαν διὰ μέσου πολλὴν ἰδόντες ἀπετράπησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι.

Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπολέλειπτο μὲν ὁ Νικίας μόνος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἦν δ' ἐλπίδος μεγάλης. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις μεθίσταντο καὶ πλοῖα μεστὰ σίτου πολλαχόθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον,[1] τοῖς πράγμασιν εὖ φερομένοις πάντων προστιθεμένων. καὶ λόγοι τινὲς ἤδη παρὰ τῶν

[1] εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον MSS. and edd.: ἦλθεν added by Sintenis.

the walls, attended by a few servants, while Lamachus with the soldiery was fighting the Syracusans. These were trying to run a wall from their city out to that which the Athenians were building, to intersect it and prevent its completion. The Athenians prevailed, and hurried off in pursuit with more or less disorder, so that Lamachus was isolated, and then had to face some Syracusan horsemen who made an onset upon him. Foremost of these was Callicrates, a man skilled in war and of a high courage. Lamachus accepted his challenge to single combat, fought him, got a mortal blow from him, but gave him back the like, and fell and died along with him. The Syracusans got possession of the body of Lamachus, with its armour, and carried it off. Then they made a dash upon the Athenian walls where Nicias was, with none to succour him. He nevertheless, necessity compelling him, rose from his bed, saw his peril, and ordered his attendants to bring fire and set it to all the timbers that lay scattered in front of the walls for the construction of siege-engines, and to the engines themselves. This brought the Syracusans to a halt, and saved Nicias as well as the walls and stores of the Athenians. For when the Syracusans saw a great flame rising between them and the walls, they withdrew.

Thus it came to pass that Nicias was left sole general; but he was in great hopes. Cities were inclining to take his side, and ships full of grain came to his camp from every quarter. Everybody hastens to join a successful cause. Besides, sundry proposals for a treaty were already coming to him from those

Συρακουσίων ἐγίνοντο περὶ συμβάσεως πρὸς
5 αὐτόν, ἀπεγνωκότων τὴν πόλιν. ὅπου καὶ Γύλιπ-
πος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πλέων βοηθὸς αὐτοῖς, ὡς
ἤκουσε κατὰ πλοῦν τὸν ἀποτειχισμὸν καὶ τὰς
ἀπορίας, οὕτως ἔπλει τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἐχομένης μὲν
ἤδη τῆς Σικελίας, Ἰταλιώταις δὲ τὰς πόλεις δια-
φυλάξων, εἰ καὶ τοῦτό πως ἐγγένοιτο. μεγάλη γὰρ
ἡ δόξα διεφοίτα τοῦ κρατεῖν πάντα τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔχειν ἄμαχον δι' εὐτυχίαν
καὶ φρόνησιν.

6 Ὁ δὲ Νικίας εὐθὺς[1] αὐτὸς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν
ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥώμης καὶ τύχης ἀνατε-
θαρρηκώς, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Συρακουσῶν δια-
λεγομένοις κρύφα καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον
οὔπω τὴν πόλιν ἐνδίδοσθαι κατὰ συμβάσεις
νομίζων, οὐδένα τοῦ Γυλίππου λόγον ἔσχε προσ-
πλέοντος, οὐδὲ φυλακὴν ἐποιήσατο καθαράν,
ἀλλὰ τῷ παντελῶς ὑπερορᾶσθαι καὶ καταφρονεῖ-
σθαι λαθὼν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰσέπλευσε διὰ πορθ-
μοῦ, καὶ προσκομισθεὶς ἀπωτάτω τῶν Συρακουσῶν
στρατιὰν συνηγάγετο πολλήν, οὐδ' εἰ πάρεστι
τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ προσδοκών-
7 τῶν. διὸ καὶ παρήγγελτο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησία
περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν ὁμολογιῶν, καί τινες
ἐβάδιζον ἤδη, πρὶν ἢ παντελῶς ἀποτειχισθῆναι
τὴν πόλιν οἰόμενοι δεῖν γενέσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις·
βραχὺ γὰρ ἦν κομιδῇ τὸ ἀπολειπόμενον τοῦ ἔργου,
καὶ τοῦτο παραβεβλημένην εἶχε τὴν παρασκευὴν
τῆς τειχοδομίας σύμπασαν.

XIX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καιροῦ παρόντος τοῦ κιν-
δύνου ἀφικνεῖται Γογγύλος ἐκ Κορίνθου μιᾷ

[1] εὐθὺς deleted by Coraës and Bekker.

Syracusans who despaired of their city. At this time, too, Gylippus, who was sailing from Sparta to their aid, when he heard on his voyage how they were walled up and in sore distress, held on his way, it is true, but with the belief that Sicily was as good as taken, and that he could only save the cities of the Italian Greeks, if haply even that. For the opinion gained ground and strength that the Athenians were all powerful, and had a general who was invincible by reason of his judgement and good fortune.

And Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was straightway so emboldened by the present momentum of his good fortune, and, most of all, by the secret messengers sent to him from the Syracusans was so fixed in his belief that the city was just on the point of surrendering conditionally, that he made no sort of account of Gylippus at his approach. He did not even set an adequate watch against him. Wherefore, finding himself completely overlooked and despised, the man sailed stealthily through the straits, made a landing at the farthest point from Syracuse, and collected a large force, the Syracusans being not so much as aware of his presence, nor even expecting him. On the contrary, they had actually called an assembly to discuss the agreements to be made with Nicias, and some were already on their way to it, thinking that the terms of peace should be made before their city was completely walled up. For that part of the work which remained to be done was quite small, and all the material required for it lay strewn along the line.

XIX. But in this nick of time and crisis of their peril Gongylus came to them from Corinth with a

τριήρει· καὶ συνδραμόντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς εἰκός, πάντων ἔφραζεν ὅτι Γύλιππος ἀφίξεται διὰ ταχέων καὶ νῆες ἄλλαι βοηθοὶ προσπλέουσιν.
2 οὕπω δὲ τῷ Γογγύλῳ πιστευόντων βεβαίως, ἦκεν ἄγγελος παρὰ τοῦ Γυλίππου κελεύοντος ἀπαντᾶν. οἱ δὲ θαρρήσαντες ἐξωπλίζοντο· καὶ προσῆγεν εὐθὺς ὁ Γύλιππος ἐξ ὁδοῦ παρατεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ κἀκείνους ἀντέταξεν ὁ Νικίας, θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Γύλιππος τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κήρυκα πέμψας ἔλεγε διδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἄδειαν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ Σικελίας.
3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικίας οὐθὲν ἠξίωσεν ἀποκρίνασθαι· τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινες καταγελῶντες ἠρώτων εἰ διὰ παρουσίαν ἑνὸς τρίβωνος καὶ βακτηρίας Λακωνικῆς οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ τὰ Συρακουσίων ἐξαίφνης γέγονεν ὥστ' Ἀθηναίων καταφρονεῖν, οἳ πολὺ ῥωμαλεωτέρους Γυλίππου καὶ μᾶλλον κομῶντας τριακοσίους ἔχοντες ἐν πέδαις
4 δεδεμένους ἀπέδωκαν Λακεδαιμονίοις. Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σικελιώτας φησὶν ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν Γύλιππον, ὕστερον μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μικρολογίαν καταγνόντας, ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ὤφθη, σκώπτοντας εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν κόμην. εἶτα μέντοι φησὶν αὐτὸς ὅτι τῷ Γυλίππῳ φανέντι καθάπερ γλαυκὶ πολλοὶ προσέπτησαν ἑτοίμως στρατευόμενοι. καὶ ταῦτα τῶν πρώτων ἀληθέστερά εἰσιν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ 5
τρίβωνι τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης

single trireme. All flocking to meet him, as was natural, he told them that Gylippus would come speedily, and that other ships of war were sailing to their aid. Ere yet they could put implicit faith in what Gongylus told them, there came a messenger from Gylippus bidding them come out to meet him. Then they plucked up heart and donned their arms. No sooner had Gylippus come up than he led his men in battle array against the Athenians. But when Nicias arrayed his men too over against him, Gylippus halted under arms, and sent a herald with the message that he offered the Athenians safe conduct if they would depart from Sicily.

Nicias deigned no answer to this; but some of his soldiers mocked, and asked the herald if the presence of a single Spartan cloak and staff had made the prospects of the Syracusans on a sudden so secure that they could afford to deride the Athenians, who had restored to the Lacedaemonians, out of prison and fetters, three hundred men[1] far sturdier than Gylippus, and longer haired. Timaeus says that the Sicilians also made no account of Gylippus, later on, indeed, because they learned to know his base greed and penuriousness; but as soon as they set eyes upon him they jeered at his cloak and his long hair. Then, however, Timaeus himself says that as soon as Gylippus showed himself, for all the world like an owl among birds, many flocked to him, with ready offers of military service. This latter statement has more truth in it than his first, for in the staff and cloak of Gylippus men beheld the symbols of the majesty of Sparta, and rallied round

[1] The captives of Sphacteria (chapter viii. 1), two hundred and ninety-two in number (Thuc. iv. 38, 5).

καθορῶντες συνίσταντο. κἀκείνου τὸ πᾶν ἔργον γεγονέναι φησὶν οὐ Θουκυδίδης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλιστος, ἀνὴρ Συρακούσιος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁρατὴς γενόμενος.

Τῇ μὲν οὖν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν Συρακουσίων ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Γογγύλον τὸν Κορίνθιον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἔδειξεν ὁ Γύλιππος οἷόν ἐστιν ἐμπειρία. τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ χωρίοις χρησάμενος οὐχ ὡσαύτως, ἀλλὰ μεταθεὶς τὴν τάξιν, ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· καὶ φυγόντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιστήσας τοὺς Συρακουσίους, τοῖς λίθοις οἷς ἐκεῖνοι προσεκόμιζον καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ παροικοδομῶν εἰς διαστολὰς ἀπέκοψε τὸν ἐκείνων περιτειχισμόν, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον κρατοῦσιν.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ θαρρήσαντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι τάς τε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀκολούθοις περιελαύνοντες πολλοὺς ἤρουν. καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐπιὼν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτὸς ἐξώρμα καὶ συνίστη πάντας ἐρρωμένως ὑπακούοντας αὐτῷ καὶ συλλαμβανομένους, ὥστε τὸν Νικίαν αὖθις εἰς ἐκείνους ἀποτρεπόμενον τοὺς πρώτους λογισμοὺς καὶ συμφρονοῦντα τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν ἀθυμεῖν, καὶ γράφειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κελεύοντα πέμπειν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἢ καὶ τοῦτον ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτῷ δὲ πάντως αἰτούμενον τῆς στρατηγίας ἄφεσιν διὰ τὴν νόσον.

them. Moreover, that the whole achievement of deliverance was his, is the testimony not only of Thucydides, but also of Philistus, who was a Syracusan, and an eye-witness of the events thereof.

Well, then, in the first battle the Athenians were victors and slew some few of the Syracusans, and also Gongylus the Corinthian; but on the day following Gylippus showed what a great thing experience is. Although he had the same infantry and the same cavalry and the same localities to deal with, he did not do it in the same way as before, but changed his tactics, and thereby conquered the Athenians. And as they fled to their camp, he halted his Syracusans in their pursuit, and with the very stones and timbers which his enemies had brought up for their own use, he carried on the cross wall until it intersected the besiegers' wall of enclosure, so that their superior strength in the field really availed them naught.

After this the Syracusans plucked up heart and went to manning their ships, while their own horsemen and those of their allies would ride about and cut off many of their besiegers. Gylippus also went out in person to the cities of Sicily and roused up and united them all into vigorous and obedient concert with him. Nicias therefore fell back again upon those views of the undertaking which he had held at the outset, and, fully aware of the reversal which it had suffered, became dejected, and wrote a dispatch [1] to the Athenians urging them to send out another armament, or else to recall the one already in Sicily, begging them also in any case to relieve him of his command because of his disease.

[1] Cf. Thuc. vii. 11–15.

XX. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὥρμηντο πέμπειν ἑτέραν δύναμιν εἰς Σικελίαν, φθόνῳ δὲ τῶν πρῶτον πραττομένων πρὸς εὐτυχίαν τοῦ Νικίου τοσαύτην πολλὰς διατριβὰς ἐμβαλόντων τότε γοῦν ἔσπευδον βοηθεῖν. καὶ Δημοσθένης μὲν ἔμελλε μεγάλῳ στόλῳ πλεῖν ἐκ χειμῶνος, Εὐρυμέδων δὲ διὰ χειμῶνος προεξέπλευσε χρήματα κομίζων καὶ συστρατήγους ἀποφαίνων ἠρημένους τῷ Νικίᾳ τῶν αὐτόθι στρατευομένων Εὐθύδημον καὶ Μένανδρον.

2 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξαίφνης ἐπιχειρούμενος ὁ Νικίας ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ἡττώμενος τὸ πρῶτον ὅμως ἐξέωσε καὶ κατέδυσε πολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν οὐκ ἔφθασε βοηθῶν, ἀλλ' ἄφνω προσπεσὼν ὁ Γύλιππος εἶλε τὸ Πλημμύριον, ἐν ᾧ σκευῶν τριηρικῶν καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐκράτησε πάντων καὶ διέφθειρεν ἄνδρας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβε·

3 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀφείλετο τοῦ Νικίου τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν εὐπέτειαν. ἦν γὰρ ἡ κομιδὴ παρὰ τὸ Πλημμύριον ἀσφαλὴς καὶ ταχεῖα τῶν Ἀθηναίων κρατούντων, ἐκπεσόντων δὲ χαλεπὴ καὶ μετὰ μάχης ἐγίνετο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκεῖ ναυλοχοῦντας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖς Συρακουσίοις οὐκ ἀπὸ κράτους ἐφαίνετο νενικημένον, ἀλλ'

XX. Even before this the Athenians had made preparations to send another force to Sicily, but the leading men among them felt some jealousy of the preliminary good fortune of Nicias, and so had induced many delays. Now, however, they were all eagerness to send aid. It was therefore determined that Demosthenes should sail with a large armament in the spring, and while it was yet winter Eurymedon preceded him with a smaller fleet, bringing money, and announcing the selection of colleagues for Nicias from among the members of the expedition there,- to wit, Euthydemus and Menander.

But in the meantime Nicias was suddenly attacked by land and sea. With his fleet, though vanquished at first, he yet succeeded in repulsing the enemy, and sank many of their ships; but he was not prompt enough in sending aid to his garrison at Plemmyrium,[1] and so Gylippus, who had fallen upon it suddenly, captured it. Large naval stores and moneys were in deposit there, all of which Gylippus secured, besides killing many men and taking many prisoners. What was most important of all, he robbed Nicias of his easy importation of supplies. These had been safely and speedily brought in past Plemmyrium as long as the Athenians held that post; but now that they had been driven from it, the process was a difficult one, and involved fighting with the enemy who lay at anchor there. And besides all this, the Syracusans felt that their fleet had been defeated, not through any superior strength in their enemy,

[1] A promontory which runs out opposite the city of Syracuse, and narrows the entrance into the great harbour.

ἀταξίᾳ περὶ τὴν δίωξιν. αὖθις οὖν ἐπεχείρουν παρασκευαζόμενοι λαμπρότερον.

4 Ὁ δὲ Νικίας οὐκ ἐβούλετο ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι, στόλου τοσούτου προσπλέοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δυνάμεως ἀκραιφνοῦς, ἣν ἦγε Δημοσθένης σπεύδων, ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων καὶ χορηγουμένων φαύλως διαγωνίσασθαι. τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μένανδρον καὶ τὸν Εὐθύδημον ἀρτίως εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένοις φιλοτιμία καὶ ζῆλος ἦν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς στρατηγούς, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην φθῆναι πράξαντά τι λαμπρόν,
5 ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸν Νικίαν. πρόσχημα δ' ἦν ἡ δόξα τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ καταλύεσθαι παντάπασι φάσκοντες εἰ φοβηθήσονται Συρακουσίους ἐπιπλέοντας, ἐξεβιάσαντο ναυμαχῆσαι. καὶ καταστρατηγηθέντες ὑπ' Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Κορινθίων κυβερνήτου τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἄριστον, ὡς εἴρηκε Θουκυδίδης, κατὰ κράτος ἡττήθησαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον· καὶ ἀθυμία πολλὴ περι- 537
εστήκει τὸν Νικίαν τῇ τε μοναρχίᾳ κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων.

XXI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν λιμένων ἐπεφαίνετο λαμπρότατος τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δεινότατος τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν ἄγων ὁπλίτας πεντακισχιλίους, ἀκοντιστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ὅπλων δὲ κόσμῳ καὶ

but by reason of their own disorderly pursuit of that enemy. Accordingly, they were making more vigorous preparations to try the issue again.

But Nicias did not want a sea fight. He said it would be great folly, when so large an armament was sailing to their aid and hurrying up fresh troops under Demosthenes, to fight the issue out with inferior forces, and those wretchedly supplied. Menander and Euthydemus, however, who had just been appointed to their offices, were moved by an ambitious rivalry with both the other generals; they longed to anticipate Demosthenes in some brilliant exploit, and to eclipse Nicias. They therefore made much of their city's reputation. This, they declared again and again, would be altogether ruined and dissipated if they should show fear when the Syracusans sailed out to attack them; and so they forced a decision to give battle by sea. But they were simply out-manœuvred by Ariston, the Corinthian captain, in the matter of the noon-day meal, as Thucydides relates,[1] and then worsted in action, with the loss of many men. And so a great despair encompassed Nicias; he had met with disaster while in sole command, and was now again brought to grief by his colleagues.

XXI. But at this juncture Demosthenes hove in sight off the harbours,[2] most resplendent in his array, and most terrifying to the enemy. He brought five thousand hoplites on seventy-three ships of war, besides javelineers and archers and slingers to no less a number than three thousand. What with the gleam

[1] vii. 36–41. The Syracusan crews took their meal close by their ships, and then suddenly re-embarked and attacked the Athenians, who supposed there would be no more fighting that day, and were taken unawares.

[2] About mid-summer, 413 B.C.

παρασήμοις τριήρων καὶ πλήθει κελευστῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν θεατρικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἔκπληξιν πολεμίων
2 ἐξησκημένος. ἦν οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, αὖθις ἐν φόβῳ μεγάλῳ τὰ Συρακουσίων εἰς οὐδὲν πέρας οὐδὲ ἀπαλλαγήν, ἀλλὰ πονοῦντας ἄλλως καὶ φθειρομένους αὐτοὺς μάτην ὁρώντων.

Τὸν δὲ Νικίαν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εὔφρανεν ἡ παρουσία τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι, τοῦ Δημοσθένους εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις κελεύοντος καὶ τῷ ταχίστῳ τῶν κινδύνων περὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαγωνισαμένους ἐλεῖν Συρακούσας ἢ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, δείσας καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ τόλμαν ἐδεῖτο μηδὲν
3 ἀπεγνωσμένως πράττειν μηδὲ ἀνοήτως. τὴν γὰρ τριβὴν εἶναι κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε χρήματα κεκτημένων ἔτι, μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς πολὺν χρόνον παραμενούντων, εἰ δὲ θλίβοιντο ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ταχὺ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμβάσεις τραπησομένων, ὡς πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἄνδρες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις διαλεγόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ κρύφα καὶ μένειν κελεύοντες, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπερπονούντων τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τὸν Γύλιππον βαρυνομένων, ἐὰν δὲ μικρὸν ἐπιτείνωσιν αἱ ἀνάγκαι, παντάπασιν ἀπαγορευσόντων.
4 τούτων ὁ Νικίας τὰ μὲν αἰνιττόμενος, τὰ δ' οὐ θέλων ἐν φανερῷ λέγειν, ἀτολμίας παρέσχε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς δόξαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἥκειν φάσκοντες αὐτοῦ, μελλήματα καὶ διατριβὰς καὶ ἀκριβολογίας, αἷς ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀκμὴν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἕωλος καὶ κατα-

of his arms and the insignia of his triremes and the multitude of his coxwains and pipers, he made a spectacular display, and one which smote the enemy with dismay. Again, then, as was natural, fear reigned among the Syracusans. They saw before them no final release from their perils, but only useless toils and vain self-destruction.

But the joy of Nicias at the presence of this fresh force was not long lived. Nay, at the very first council of war, when Demosthenes urged an immediate attack upon the enemy, a settlement of the whole struggle by the speediest hazard, and either the capture of Syracuse or else a return home, he was in fearful amaze at such aggressive daring, and begged that nothing be done rashly or foolishly. Delay, he said, was sure to work against the enemy; they no longer had money to spend, and their allies would not longer stand by them; let them only be really distressed by the straits they were in, and they would soon come to him again for terms, as they had done before. For not a few of the men of Syracuse were in secret communication with Nicias. They urged him to bide his time, on the ground that even now they were worn out by the war and weary of Gylippus, and that if their necessities should but increase a little, they would give over altogether. At some of these matters Nicias could only hint darkly, of others he was unwilling to speak in public, and so he made the generals think him cowardly. It was the same old story over again with him, they would say,—delays, postponements, and hairsplitting distinctions; he had already forfeited the golden moment by not attacking the enemy at once, but rather going stale and winning

φρονούμενος, τῷ Δημοσθένει προσετίθεντο. καὶ ὁ Νικίας μόλις συνεχώρησεν ἐκβιασθείς.

5 Οὕτω δὴ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρει ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν φθάσας πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἀμυνομένους ἐτρέψατο. καὶ κρατῶν οὐκ ἔμενεν, ἀλλ' ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, μέχρι οὗ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἐνέτυχε. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι συστρέψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐναντίοις τοῖς δόρασι μετὰ βοῆς ἐώσαντο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον.

6 δι' ὅλου δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐθὺς ἦν πτοία καὶ ταραχή, καὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἤδη καταπιμπλάμενον τὸ ἔτι νικῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαῖνον καὶ προσφερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πεφοβημένων ἀνακοπτόμενον ἑαυτῷ περιέπιπτε, τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας οἰόμενον διώκειν,

7 τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς πολεμίοις χρώμενον. ἡ γὰρ ἄτακτος ἀνάμιξις ἐν ταὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγνοίας, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἄπιστον ἐν νυκτὶ μήτε σκότος ἄκρατον μήτε φῶς ἐχούσῃ βέβαιον, ἀλλ' οἵαν εἰκὸς ἤδη καταφερομένης σελήνης καὶ περισκιαζομένης ὅπλοις πολλοῖς καὶ σώμασι κινουμένοις διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς μὴ διασαφοῦσαν τὰ εἴδη φόβῳ τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ποιεῖν ὕποπτον, εἰς δεινὰς ἀπορίας καὶ περιπετείας καθίστη τοὺς

8 Ἀθηναίους. ἔτυχον δέ πως καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἔχοντες ὄπισθεν· ὅθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν αὑτοῖς τὰς σκιὰς ἐπιβάλλοντες ἀπέκρυπτον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα, τοὺς δ' ἐναντίους ὁ πρὸς τὴν

their contempt. So they sided with Demosthenes, and Nicias, with great reluctance, was forced to yield.

Therefore, Demosthenes, with the infantry, made a night attack upon Epipolae. He took some of the enemy by surprise, and slew them; others, who tried to make a stand, he routed. Victorious, he did not halt, but pressed on farther, until he fell in with the Boeotians. These were the first of the enemy to form in battle array, and dashing upon the Athenians with spears at rest and with loud shouts, they repulsed them and slew many of them there. Through the whole army of attack there was at once panic and confusion. The part that was still pressing on victoriously was presently choked up with the part that fled, and the part that was yet coming up to the attack was beaten back by the panic-stricken and fell foul of itself, supposing that the fugitives were pursuers, and treating friends as foes. Their huddling together in fear and ignorance, and the deceitfulness of their vision, plunged the Athenians into terrible perplexities and disasters. For the night was one which afforded neither absolute darkness nor a steady light. The moon was low on the horizon, and was partially obscured by the numerous armed figures moving to and fro in her light, and so she naturally made even friends mutually suspicious through fear of foes, by not distinguishing their forms clearly. Besides, it somehow happened that the Athenians had the moon at their backs, so that they cast their shadows on their own men in front of them, and thus obscured their number and the brilliancy of their weapons; while in the case of the enemy, the reflection of the moon upon their

σελήνην τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀντιφωτισμὸς πολὺ πλείονας ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ λαμπροτέρους ἐποίει.

9 Τέλος δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐνέδοσαν, προσκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων φεύγοντες οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὀλισθαίνοντες· τοὺς δ' ἀποσκεδασθέντας καὶ πλανωμένους ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης οἱ ἱππεῖς καταλαμβάνοντες διέφθειρον. ἐγένοντο δὲ νεκροὶ δισχίλιοι, καὶ τῶν περιγενομένων ὀλίγοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπεσώθησαν.

XXII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικίας πληγεὶς οὐκ ἀπροσδοκήτως ᾐτιᾶτο τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὴν προπέτειαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀπologησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλην ἀφίξεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης τῶν
2 πολεμίων κρατεῖν, ὅπου γε καὶ κρατοῦντας ἐκείνων ἔδει μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀεὶ μέν, ὡς πυνθάνονται, βαρὺ καὶ νοσῶδες ὂν στρατοπέδῳ, νῦν δ', ὡς βλέπουσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὥραν ὀλέθριον. μετοπώρου γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἀρχή· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἠσθένουν ἤδη, πάντες δὲ ἠθύμουν.

Ὁ δὲ Νικίας χαλεπῶς ἤκουε τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, οὐ τῷ μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς Συρακουσίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰς
3 ἐκείνων δίκας καὶ συκοφαντίας φοβεῖσθαι. δεινὸν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτόθι προσδοκᾶν ἔφασκεν, εἰ δὲ συμβαίη, μᾶλλον αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐχ ὅμοια

shields made them seem far more numerous than they really were, and more resplendent to the eye.

Finally, when the Athenians gave ground, the enemy attacked them on all sides and put them to flight. Some of them died at the hands of their pursuers, others by one another's hands, and others still by plunging down the cliffs. The scattered and wandering fugitives, when day came, were overtaken and cut to pieces by the enemy's horsemen. The dead amounted in all to two thousand; and of the survivors, few saved their armour with their lives.

XXII. Nicias, accordingly, was overcome by this disaster, though it did not take him wholly by surprise, and he accused Demosthenes of rashness. Demosthenes defended himself on this score, and then urged that they sail away as soon as they could. No other force would come to their aid, he declared, and with the one they had they could not finally master the enemy, since, even if they were victorious in battle, they would be forced to change their base and abandon their present position; this was always, as they heard, a grievous and unwholesome spot for encampment, and now particularly, as they saw, it was actually deadly on account of the season of the year. For it was the beginning of autumn; many were sick already, and all were in low spirits.

But Nicias could not bear to hear of sailing off in flight, not because he had no fear of the Syracusans, but because he was more afraid of the Athenians with their prosecutions and denunciations. Nothing dreadful, he would say, was to be expected where they were, and even if the worst should come, he chose rather to die at the hands of his enemies than at the hands of his fellow citizens. In this he was

φρονῶν οἷς ὕστερον ὁ Βυζάντιος Λέων εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας· "Βούλομαι γάρ," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν"· περὶ μέντοι τόπου καὶ χώρας εἰς ἣν μετατάξουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, βουλεύσεσθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν.
4 ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης οὐδὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κατευτυχήσας ἐπαύσατο βιαζόμενος, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις παρέσχε τὸν Νικίαν προσδοκῶντα καὶ πιστεύοντα τοῖς ἔνδον οὕτως ἐρρωμένως ἀναμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀποβάσεως· διὸ καὶ συνεχώρησαν. ὡς μέντοι στρατιὰ Συρακουσίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἄλλη καὶ μᾶλλον ἥπτετο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ νόσος, ἤδη καὶ τῷ Νικίᾳ συνεδόκει μεθίστασθαι, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐτρεπεῖς εἶναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν.

XXIII. Ὡς δ' ἦν ἕτοιμα ταῦτα πάντα καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς παρεφύλαττεν, ἅτε δὴ μὴ προσδοκώντων, ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτός, μέγα δέος τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκπεπληγμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡλίου τὴν περὶ τὰς τριακάδας ἐπισκότησιν ἀμῶς γέ πως ἤδη συνεφρόνουν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ γενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης·
2 αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ᾧτινι συντυγχάνουσα καὶ πῶς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ πανσελήνου τὸ φῶς ἀπόλλυσι καὶ χρόας ἴσης παντοδαπάς, οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν καταλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀλλόκοτον ἡγοῦντο καὶ πρὸ συμφορῶν τινων μεγάλων ἐκ θεοῦ γινόμενον σημεῖον.

not like-minded with Leon of Byzantium, who, at a later time,[1] said to his fellow citizens: "I would rather be put to death by you than with you." However, regarding the exact spot to which they should remove their camp, Nicias said they would deliberate at their leisure. Thereupon Demosthenes, who had not been successful in his previous plan, ceased trying to carry his point, and so led the rest of the generals to believe that Nicias must have confident expectations from his correspondents in the city in making such a sturdy fight against the proposed retreat; they therefore sided with him. However, a fresh army came to the aid of the Syracusans, and sickness kept spreading among the Athenians, so that at last Nicias also decided in favour of a change of base, and ordered the soldiers to hold themselves in readiness to sail away.

XXIII. But just as everything was prepared for this and none of the enemy were on the watch, since they did not expect the move at all, there came an eclipse of the moon by night. This was a great terror to Nicias and all those who were ignorant or superstitious enough to quake at such a sight. The obscuration of the sun towards the end of the month was already understood, even by the common folk, as caused somehow or other by the moon; but what it was that the moon encountered, and how, being at the full, she should on a sudden lose her light and emit all sorts of colours, this was no easy thing to comprehend. Men thought it uncanny,—a sign sent from God in advance of divers great calamities.

[1] Perhaps in 340 B.C., when Philip of Macedon was besieging Byzantium. Leon was a rhetorician and historian.

Ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατόν τε πάντων καὶ θαρραλεώτατον περὶ σελήνης καταυγασμῶν καὶ σκιᾶς λόγον εἰς γραφὴν καταθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἦν παλαιὸς οὔτε ὁ λόγος ἔνδοξος, ἀλλ' ἀπόρρητος ἔτι καὶ δι' ὀλίγων καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας
3 τινὸς ἢ πίστεως βαδίζων. οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μετεωρολέσχας τότε καλουμένους, ὡς εἰς αἰτίας ἀλόγους καὶ δυνάμεις ἀπρονοήτους καὶ κατηναγκασμένα πάθη διατρίβοντας τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἔφυγε, καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν εἱρχθέντα μόλις περιεποιήσατο Περικλῆς, καὶ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν γε τοιούτων προσῆκον, ὅμως ἀπώλετο διὰ φιλοσοφίαν.
4 ὀψὲ δ' ἡ Πλάτωνος ἐκλάμψασα δόξα διὰ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι ταῖς θείαις καὶ κυριωτέραις ἀρχαῖς ὑπέταξε τὰς φυσικὰς ἀνάγκας, 539
ἀφεῖλε τὴν τῶν λόγων τούτων διαβολήν, καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασιν εἰς ἅπαντας ὁδὸν ἐνέδωκεν. ὁ γοῦν ἑταῖρος αὐτοῦ Δίων, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔμελλεν ἄρας ἐκ Ζακύνθου πλεῖν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον, ἐκλιπούσης τῆς σελήνης, οὐδὲν διαταραχθεὶς ἀνήχθη, καὶ κατασχὼν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐξέβαλε τὸν τύραννον.
5 Τῷ μέντοι Νικίᾳ συνηνέχθη τότε μηδὲ μάντιν ἔχειν ἔμπειρον· ὁ γὰρ συνήθης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀφαιρῶν Στιλβίδης ἐτεθνήκει

The first man to put in writing the clearest and boldest of all doctrines about the changing phases of the moon was Anaxagoras. But he was no ancient authority, nor was his doctrine in high repute. It was still under seal of secrecy, and made its way slowly among a few only, who received it with a certain caution rather than with implicit confidence. Men could not abide the natural philosophers and "visionaries," as they were then called, for that they reduced the divine agency down to irrational causes, blind forces, and necessary incidents. Even Protagoras had to go into exile,[1] Anaxagoras was with difficulty rescued from imprisonment by Pericles,[2] and Socrates, though he had nothing whatever to do with such matters, nevertheless lost his life[3] because of philosophy. It was not until later times that the radiant repute of Plato, because of the life the man led, and because he subjected the compulsions of the physical world to divine and more sovereign principles, took away the obloquy of such doctrines as these, and gave their science free course among all men. At any rate, his friend Dion, although the moon suffered an eclipse at the time when he was about to set out from Zacynthus on his voyage against Dionysius, was in no wise disturbed, but put to sea, landed at Syracuse, and drove out the tyrant.[4]

However, it was the lot of Nicias at this time to be without even a soothsayer who was expert. The one who had been his associate, and who used to set him free from most of his superstition, Stilbides, had

[1] Not far from 411 B.C.
[2] About 432 B.C. See the *Pericles*, xxxii. 3.
[3] In the spring of 399 B.C.
[4] In 357 B.C. See the *Dion*, xxiv.

μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν. ἐπεὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος, φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἦν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ χρηστόν· ἐπικρύψεως γὰρ αἱ σὺν φόβῳ πράξεις
6 δέονται, τὸ δὲ φῶς πολέμιόν ἐστιν αὐταῖς. ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν περὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποιοῦντο φυλακήν, ὡς Αὐτοκλείδης διέγραψεν ἐν τοῖς ἐξηγητικοῖς· ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἄλλην ἔπεισε σελήνης ἀναμένειν περίοδον, ὥσπερ οὐκ εὐθὺς θεασάμενος αὐτὴν ἀποκαθαρθεῖσαν, ὅτε τὸν σκιερὸν τόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀντιφραττόμενον παρῆλθε.

XXIV. Μικροῦ δὲ πάντων ἀφέμενος τῶν ἄλλων ἔθυέ τε καὶ διεμαντεύετο καθήμενος, ἕως ἐπῆλθον αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν πολιορκοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα περιλαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνον ταῖς τριήρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια πανταχόθεν ἐπιβαίνοντα τῶν ἁλιάδων καὶ ταῖς σκάφαις προσπλέοντα προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἀθη-
2 ναίους καὶ προὐπηλάκιζεν. ὧν ἕνα, παῖδα γνωρίμων γονέων, Ἡρακλείδην, προεξελάσαντα τῷ πλοίῳ ναῦς Ἀττικὴ διώκουσα κατελάμβανε. δείσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῷ Πόλλιχος ὁ θεῖος ἀντελαύνει δέκα τριήρεσιν ὧν ἦρχεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ τοῦ Πολλίχου φοβηθέντες ὡσαύτως ἀνήγοντο. καὶ ναυμαχίας ἰσχυρᾶς γενομένης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι, καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων διέφθειραν.

3 Ἦν οὖν οὐκέτι μένειν ἀνασχετὰ Ἀθηναίοις,

died a short time before. For indeed the sign from Heaven, as Philochorus observed, was not an obnoxious one to fugitives, but rather very propitious; concealment is just what deeds of fear need, whereas light is an enemy to them. And besides, men were wont to be on their guard against portents of sun and moon for three days only, as Autocleides has remarked in his "Exegetics"; but Nicias persuaded the Athenians to wait for another full period of the moon, as if, forsooth, he did not see that the planet was restored to purity and splendour just as soonas she had passed beyond the region which was darkened and obscured by the earth.

XXIV. Abandoning almost everything else, Nicias lay there sacrificing and divining until the enemy came up against him. With their land forces they laid siege to his walls and camp, and with their fleet they took possession of the harbour round about. Not only the men of Syracuse in their triremes, but even the striplings, on board of fishing smacks and skiffs, sailed up from every side with challenges and insults for the Athenians. To one of these, a boy of noble parentage, Heracleides by name, who had driven his boat well on before the rest, an Attic ship gave chase, and was like to capture him. But the boy's uncle, Pollichus, concerned for his safety, rowed out to his defence with the ten triremes which were under his orders, and then the other commanders, fearing in turn for the safety of Pollichus, likewise put out for the scene of action. A fierce sea fight was thus brought on, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and slew Eurymedon along with many others.

Accordingly the Athenians could no longer endure

ἀλλὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατεβόων πεζῇ κελεύοντες ἀναχωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Συρακούσιοι νικήσαντες εὐθὺς ἐνέφραξαν καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὸν διέκπλουν τοῦ λιμένος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπολιπεῖν ὁλκάδας τε πολλὰς καὶ τριήρεις ὀλίγον ἀριθμῷ διακοσίων
4 ἀποδεούσας· ἐμβιβάσαντες δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους ἐπλήρωσαν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα τριήρεις· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ταρσῶν ἐνδεεῖς ἦσαν. τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ὄχλον ἔστησε παρὰ θάλασσαν ὁ Νικίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὥστε μὴ τεθυκότων τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν Συρακουσίων, θῦσαι τότε τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἀναβάντας ἤδη πληρουμένων τῶν τριήρων.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μάντεις τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἀπήγγειλαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν λαμπρότητα καὶ νίκην μὴ καταρχομένοις μάχης, ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένοις (καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων κρατεῖν ἀμυνόμενον καὶ προεπιχειρούμενον), ἀνήχθησαν.

Ἡ δὲ ναυμαχία πολὺ μεγίστη καὶ καρτερωτάτη γενομένη, καὶ μηδὲν ἐλάττονα πάθη καὶ θορύβους παρασχοῦσα τοῖς θεωμένοις ἢ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις διὰ τὴν παντὸς ἐπίβλεψιν τοῦ ἔργου ποικίλας μεταβολὰς καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτους ἐν ὀλίγῳ λαμβάνοντος, ἔβλαπτε ταῖς αὐτῶν παρασκευαῖς οὐχ ἧττον τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
2 ἀθρόαις γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ βαρείαις

to remain there, but cried out loudly upon their generals and bade them withdraw by land; for the Syracusans, immediately after their victory, had blocked up and shut off the mouth of the harbour. But Nicias could not consent to this. He said it would be a terrible thing to abandon so many transports, and triremes almost two hundred in number. So he embarked the best of his infantry and the most efficient of his javelineers to man a hundred and ten triremes; the rest lacked oars. Then he stationed the remainder of his army along the shore of the harbour, abandoning his main camp and the walls which connected it with the Heracleum. And so it was that the Syracusans, who had so long been unable to offer their customary sacrifice to Heracles, offered it then, priests and generals going up to the temple for this purpose while their triremes were a-manning.

XXV. Presently their diviners announced to the Syracusans that the sacrifices indicated a splendid victory for them if only they did not begin the fighting, but acted on the defensive. Heracles also, they said, always won the day because he acted on the defensive and suffered himself to be attacked first. Thus encouraged, they put out from shore.

This proved the greatest and hottest sea fight they had yet made, and roused as many tumultuous emotions in those who were mere spectators as in those who did the fighting, because the whole action was in plain sight, and took on shifts and turns which were varied, unexpected, and sudden. Their own equipment wrought the Athenians no less harm than did that of their enemy; for they fought against light and nimble ships, which bore down upon them

πρὸς κούφας ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλας ἐπιφερομένας, καὶ βαλλόμενοι λίθοις ὁμοίαν ἔχουσι τὴν πληγὴν πανταχόθεν ἀντέβαλλον ἀκοντίοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν, ὧν ὁ σάλος τὴν εὐθυβολίαν διέστρεφεν, ὥστε μὴ πάντα κατ' αἰχμὴν προσφέρεσθαι. ταῦτα δ' Ἀρίστων ὁ Κορίνθιος κυβερνήτης ἐδίδαξε τοὺς Συρακουσίους, καὶ παρὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτὴν ἀγωνιζόμενος προθύμως ἔπεσεν ἤδη κρατούντων τῶν Συρακουσίων.

3 Γενομένης δὲ μεγάλης τροπῆς καὶ φθορᾶς, ἡ μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν φυγὴ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπεκέκοπτο· χαλεπὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ γῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν ὁρῶντες οὔτε ναῦς ἀφέλκοντας ἐγγύθεν ἔτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκώλυον οὔτε νεκρῶν ἤτησαν ἀναίρεσιν, ἅτε δὴ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀταφίας τὴν τῶν νοσούντων καὶ τετρωμένων ἀπόλειψιν οἰκτροτέραν οὖσαν ἤδη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, αὐτοὺς δὲ κἀκείνων ἐπιπονωτέρους ἡγούμενοι, μετὰ πλειόνων κακῶν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ πάντως ἀφιξομένους τέλος.

XXVI. Ὡρμημένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπαίρειν διὰ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Γύλιππον, ὁρῶντες ἐν θυσίαις καὶ πότοις τοὺς Συρακουσίους διά τε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ὄντας, οὔτε πείσειν οὔτε βιάσεσθαι προσεδόκων ἀναστάντας ἤδη προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπιοῦσιν, Ἑρμοκράτης δ' αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἀπάτην,
2 ἔπεμψέ τινας τῶν ἑταίρων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀπ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἥκειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φάσκοντας, οἷ καὶ πρότερον εἰώθεσαν κρύφα τῷ Νικίᾳ διαλέγεσθαι,

from different directions at once, while their own were heavy and clumsy and all crowded together. Besides, they were bombarded with stones, whose blow is just as effective however they light; whereas they could only reply with javelins and arrows, whose proper cast was disturbed by the tossing water, so that they did not all fly head on to their mark. This method of fighting was taught the Syracusans by Ariston the Corinthian captain, who fought zealously while the battle lasted, only to fall just as the Syracusans were victorious.

The Athenians suffered such great rout and loss that they were cut off from flight by sea. Even by land they saw that their salvation was a difficult matter, so that they neither tried to hinder the enemy from towing away their ships under their very eyes, nor did they ask the privilege of taking up their dead. These, forsooth, could go unburied; the survivors were confronted with a more pitiful sight in the abandonment of their sick and wounded, and thought themselves more wretched still than their dead, since they were sure to come with more sorrows than they to the same end after all.

XXVI. They purposed to set out during the night, and Gylippus, who saw that the Syracusans were given over to sacrificial revels because of their victory and their festival of Heracles, despaired of persuading or compelling them to rise up from their pleasures at once and attack their enemy as he departed. But Hermocrates, all on his own account, concocted a trick to put upon Nicias, and sent certain companions to him with assurances that they were come from those men who before this had often held secret conferences with him. They advised Nicias not to

παραινοῦντας δὲ μὴ πορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτός, ὡς τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐνέδρας πεποιημένων αὐτοῖς καὶ προκατεχόντων τὰς παρόδους. τούτῳ δὲ καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὁ Νικίας ὑπέμενεν ἃ ψευδῶς ἔδεισεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀληθῶς παθεῖν. 3 προελθόντες γὰρ ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν ὁδῶν κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπετείχισαν τάς τε γεφύρας ἀπέκοψαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὁμαλοῖς καὶ πεδινοῖς τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἔταξαν, ὥστε μηδένα λελεῖφθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τόπον ἀμαχεὶ προελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπιμείναντες ἐπορεύοντο κλαυθμῷ καὶ ὀλοφυρμῷ, καθάπερ ἐκ πατρίδος, οὐ πολεμίας, ἀνιστάμενοι, διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὰς ἀπολείψεις τῶν ἀδυνάτων φίλων καὶ συνήθων, ὅμως τὰ παρόντα κακὰ κουφότερα τῶν 4 προσδοκωμένων νομίζοντες εἶναι. πολλῶν δὲ δεινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φαινομένων, οὐδὲν ἦν οἰκτρότερον αὐτοῦ Νικίου θέαμα, κεκακωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας, συνεσταλμένου δὲ παρ' ἀξίαν εἰς ἀναγκαίαν δίαιταν καὶ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν ἐφοδίων εἰς τὸ σῶμα πολλῶν διὰ τὴν νόσον δεόμενον, πράττοντος δὲ μετ' ἀρρωστίας καὶ καρτεροῦντος ἃ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐρρωμένων μόλις ὑπέμενον, καταφανοῦς δὲ πᾶσιν ὄντος οὐ δι' αὑτὸν οὐδὲ τῷ φιλοψυχεῖν τοῖς πόνοις ἐμμένοντος, ἀλλὰ 5 δι' ἐκείνους τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ προϊεμένου. καὶ γὰρ εἰς δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ λύπης τρεπομένων, ἐκεῖνος, εἴ ποτε βιασθείη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, δῆλος ἦν τὸ αἰσχρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀκλεὲς

set out during the night, inasmuch as the Syracusans had laid snares for him and preoccupied the ways of escape. Nicias was completely out-generaled by this trick, and so ended by suffering in very truth at the hands of his enemies what their lies had made him fear. For the Syracusans set forth at break of day, occupied the difficult points in the roads, fortified the river fords, cut away the bridges, and posted their cavalry in the smooth open spaces, so that no spot was left where the Athenians could go forward without fighting.

They waited therefore all that day and the following night, and then set out, for all the world as though they were quitting their native city and not an enemy's country, with wailings and lamentations at their lack of the necessaries of life and their enforced abandonment of helpless friends and comrades. And yet they regarded these present sorrows as lighter than those which they must expect to come. Many were the fearful scenes in the camp, but the most pitiful sight of all was Nicias himself, undone by his sickness, and reduced, as he little deserved, to a scanty diet, and to the smallest supply of those personal comforts whereof he stood so much in need because of his disease. And yet, for all his weakness, he persisted in doing what many of the strong could barely endure, and all saw plainly that it was not for his own sake or for any mere love of life that he was faithful to his tasks, but that for their sakes he would not give up hope. The rest, for very fear and distress, had recourse to lamentations and tears; but whenever he was driven to this pass, it was plainly because he was contrasting the shameful dishonour to which his expedition had now

τῆς στρατείας ἀναλογιζόμενος πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὧν ἤλπιζε κατορθώσειν.

6 Οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν ὁρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λόγων μνημονεύοντες καὶ τῶν παραινέσεων ἃς ἐποιήσατο κωλύων τὸν ἔκπλουν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνόμιζον ἀναξίως ταλαιπωρεῖν· καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἐλπίδας ἀθύμως εἶχον, ἐννοοῦντες ὡς ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα λαμπρυνάμενος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οὐδενὸς ἐπιεικεστέρᾳ τύχῃ χρῆται τῶν κακίστων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ταπεινοτάτων.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅ γε Νικίας ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ φωνῇ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ δεξιώσει κρείττων ὁρᾶσθαι τῶν δεινῶν. καὶ παρὰ πᾶσάν γε τὴν πορείαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ βαλλόμενος καὶ τραυματιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀήττητον ἐφύλαττε τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἄχρι οὗ Δημοσθένης ἑάλω 541
καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκείνου στράτευμα, περὶ τὴν Πολυζήλειον αὐλὴν ἐν τῷ διαμάχεσθαι καὶ ὑπολείπε-
2 σθαι κυκλωθέν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δημοσθένης σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἔπληξε μὲν ἑαυτόν, οὐ μὴν ἀπέθανε, ταχὺ τῶν πολεμίων περισχόντων καὶ συλλαβόντων αὐτόν.

Ὡς δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ προσελάσαντες ἔφραζον οἱ Συρακούσιοι καὶ πέμψας ἱππέας ἔγνω τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἅλωσιν, ἠξίου σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Γύλιππον, ὅπως ἀφῶσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ Σικελίας ὅμηρα λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα Συρακουσίοις ἀνάλωτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

come with the great and glorious successes which he had hoped to achieve.

Besides, it was not merely the sight of him now, but also the memory of the arguments and exhortations with which he had once tried to prevent the sailing of the expedition, that led men to think him all the more unworthy to suffer such hardships now; and they had no courage to hope for aid from the gods when they reflected that a man so devout as he, and one who had performed so many great and splendid religious services, now met with no seemlier fortune than the basest and most obscure man in his army.

XXVII. However, it was this very Nicias who tried, both by words and looks and kindly manner, to show himself superior to his dreadful lot. And during all the march which he conducted for eight successive days,[1] though suffering from the missiles of the enemy, he yet succeeded in keeping his own forces from defeat, until Demosthenes and his detachment of the army were captured. These fell behind as they fought their way along, and were surrounded on the homestead of Polyzelus. Demosthenes himself drew his sword and gave himself a thrust; he did not, however, succeed in killing himself, since the enemy quickly closed in upon him and seized him.

When the Syracusans rode up and told Nicias of this disaster, he first sent horsemen to make certain that the force of Demosthenes was really taken, and then proposed to Gylippus a truce permitting the Athenians to depart from Sicily after giving hostages to the Syracusans for all the moneys which they had

[1] Minutely described, day by day, in Thuc. vii. 78–85.

3 οἱ δ' οὐ προσεῖχον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἔβαλλον ἤδη πάντων ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νύκτα διεκαρτέρησε καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν προῆει βαλλόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀσίναρον ποταμόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι συνενεγκόντες ἐνέσεισαν εἰς τὸ ῥεῖθρον, οἱ δὲ
4 φθάνοντες ὑπὸ δίψους ἔρριπτον ἑαυτούς· καὶ πλεῖστος ἐνταῦθα μόρος ἦν καὶ ὠμότατος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ πινόντων ἅμα καὶ σφαττομένων, ἄχρι Νικίας Γυλίππῳ προσπεσὼν εἶπεν· "Ἔλεος ὑμᾶς, ὦ Γύλιππε, λαβέτω νικῶντας, ἐμοῦ μὲν μηδείς, ὃς ἐπὶ τηλικαύταις εὐτυχίαις ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, ἐννοηθέντας ὅτι κοιναὶ μὲν αἱ τύχαι τοῦ πολέμου, μετρίως δ' αὐταῖς καὶ πράως ἐχρήσαντο ἐν οἷς εὐτύχουν Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς."
5 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Νικίου λέγοντος ἔπαθε μέν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁ Γύλιππος· ᾔδει γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εὖ πεπονθότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς γενομένας διαλύσεις· μέγα δ' ἡγεῖτο πρὸς δόξαν εἰ ζῶντας ἀπαγάγοι τοὺς ἀντιστρατήγους. διὸ τόν τε Νικίαν ἀναλαβὼν ἐθάρρυνε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ζωγρεῖν παρήγγειλε. βραδέως δὲ τοῦ παραγγέλματος διϊκνουμένου πολλῷ τῶν φονευθέντων ἐλάττονες οἱ διασωθέντες ἐγένοντο· καίτοι πολλοὶ διεκλάπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.
6 Τοὺς δὲ φανερῶς ἁλωκότας ἀθροίσαντες τὰ μὲν κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα δένδρα τῶν περὶ τὸν

expended on the war. But they would not entertain the proposal. Nay, with insolent rage they reviled and insulted him, and kept pelting him with missiles, destitute as he was of all the necessaries of life. However, through that night and the following day he managed to hold out, and finally came, under constant fire, to the river Asinarus. There some of his men were crowded along by the enemy and thrust into the stream, while others, in advance of pursuit, were impelled by their thirst to cast themselves in, and an exceeding great and savage carnage raged in the river itself, men being butchered as they drank. At last Nicias fell down at the feet of Gylippus and cried: "Have pity, Gylippus, now that you are victorious, not on me at all, though my great successes have brought me name and fame, but on the rest of these Athenians. Remember that the fortunes of war are common to all, and that the Athenians, when they were in good fortune, used it with moderation and gentleness toward you."

So spake Nicias, and Gylippus felt some compunction, both at the sight of him, and at what he said. For he knew that the Lacedaemonians had been well treated by him when the peace was made, and, besides, he thought it would increase his own fame if he should bring home alive the generals who had opposed him. Therefore he raised Nicias up, gave him words of cheer, and issued command to take the rest of his men alive. But the command made its way slowly along, so that the spared were far fewer than the slain. And yet many were stolen and hidden away by the soldiery.

The public prisoners were collected together, the fairest and tallest trees along the river bank were

ποταμὸν ἀνέδησαν αἰχμαλώτοις πανοπλίαις, ἐστεφανωμένοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ κοσμήσαντες τοὺς[1] ἵππους διαπρεπῶς, κείραντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων εἰσήλαυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀγῶνα λαμπρότατον ὧν Ἕλληνες πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἠγωνίσαντο καὶ νίκην τελεωτάτην κράτει πλείστῳ καὶ ῥώμῃ μεγίστῃ προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς κατωρθωκότες.

XXVIII. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ πανδήμου Συρακουσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γενομένης, Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἔγραψε πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὸν Νικίαν ἔλαβον, ἱερὰν ἔχειν, θύοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἔργων, Ἀσιναρίαν τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλοῦντας· ἡμέρα δ' ἦν τετρὰς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνείου μηνός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι
2 Μεταγειτνιῶνα προσαγορεύουσι· τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας φρουρεῖν ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὰς λατομίας, πλὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι.

Ταῦτα προσδεχομένων τῶν Συρακουσίων, Ἑρμοκράτης μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τοῦ νικᾶν κρεῖττόν ἐστι τὸ καλῶς χρῆσθαι τῇ νίκῃ, οὐ μετρίως ἐθορυβήθη, Γύλιππον δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαιτούμενον ζῶντας ἀγαγεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑβρίζοντες ἤδη τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν οἱ
3 Συρακούσιοι κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ τὸ Λακωνικὸν τῆς ἐπιστασίας οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἐνηνοχότες, ὡς δὲ

[1] τοὺς supplied by Coraës and Bekker.

hung with the captured suits of armour, and then the victors crowned themselves with wreaths, adorned their own horses splendidly while they sheared and cropped the horses of their conquered foes, and so marched into the city. They had brought to successful end a struggle which was the most brilliant ever made by Hellenes against Hellenes, and had won the completest of victories by the most overwhelming and impetuous display of zeal and valour.

XXVIII. At a general assembly of the Syracusans and their allies, Eurycles, the popular leader, brought in a motion, first, that the day on which they had taken Nicias be made a holy day, with sacrifices and abstention from labour, and that the festival be called Asinaria, from the river Asinarus (the day was the twenty-sixth of the month Carneius, which the Athenians call Metageitnion); and second, that the serving men of the Athenians and their immediate allies be sold into slavery, while the freemen and the Sicilian Hellenes who had joined them be cast into the stone quarries for watch and ward,—all except the generals, who should be put to death.

These propositions were adopted by the Syracusans. When Hermocrates protested that there was something better than victory, to wit, a noble use of victory, he was met with a tumult of disapproval; and when Gylippus demanded the Athenian generals as his prize, that he might take them alive to the Lacedaemonians, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune, abused him roundly. They were the more ready to do this because, all through the war, they had found it hard to put up with his harshness and the Laconian style with which he

Τίμαιός φησι, καὶ μικρολογίαν τινὰ καὶ πλεον- 54
εξίαν κατεγνωκότες, ἀρρώστημα πατρῷον, ἐφ' ᾧ
καὶ Κλεανδρίδης ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ δώρων ἁλοὺς
ἔφυγε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτός, ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ταλάντων
ἃ Λύσανδρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς Σπάρτην ὑφελόμενος
τριάκοντα καὶ κρύψας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄροφον τῆς οἰκίας,
εἶτα μηνυθείς, αἴσχιστα πάντων ἐξέπεσεν. ἀλλὰ
ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρου βίῳ μᾶλλον διηκρί-
βωται.

4 Δημοσθένην δὲ καὶ Νικίαν ἀποθανεῖν Τίμαιος
οὔ φησιν ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων κελευσθέντας, ὡς
Φίλιστος ἔγραψε καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' Ἑρμοκρά-
τους πέμψαντος, ἔτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνεστώσης,
καὶ δι' ἑνὸς τῶν φυλάκων παρέντων αὐτοὺς δι'
αὑτῶν ἀποθανεῖν· τὰ μέντοι σώματα πρὸς ταῖς
πύλαις ἐκβληθέντα κεῖσθαι φανερὰ τοῖς δεομένοις
5 τοῦ θεάματος. πυνθάνομαι δὲ μέχρι νῦν ἐν
Συρακούσαις ἀσπίδα κειμένην πρὸς ἱερῷ δείκνυ-
σθαι, Νικίου μὲν λεγομένην, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ
πορφύρας εὖ πως πρὸς ἄλληλα μεμιγμένων δι'
ὑφῆς συγκεκροτημένην.

XXIX. Τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι
διεφθάρησαν ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις ὑπὸ νόσου καὶ
διαίτης πονηρᾶς, εἰς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην κοτύλας δύο
κριθῶν λαμβάνοντες καὶ μίαν ὕδατος, οὐκ ὀλίγοι
δ' ἐπράθησαν διακλαπέντες ἢ καὶ διαλαθόντες ὡς
οἰκέται. καὶ τούτους ὡς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν, στίζον-
τες ἵππον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον· ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τοῦτο
πρὸς τῷ δουλεύειν ὑπομένοντες.

exercised his authority. Timaeus says, moreover, that they denounced his exceeding penuriousness and avarice,—an inherited infirmity, it would seem, since his father, Cleandridas, was convicted of taking bribes and had to flee his country. And Gylippus himself, for abstracting thirty talents from the thousand which Lysander had sent to Sparta, and hiding them in the roof of his house,—as an informer was prompt to show,—was banished in the deepest disgrace. But this has been told with more detail in my Life of Lysander.[1]

Timaeus denies that Demosthenes and Nicias were put to death by the orders of the Syracusans, as Philistus and Thucydides[2] state; but rather, Hermocrates sent word to them of the decision of the assembly while it was yet in session, and with the connivance of one of their guards they took their own lives. Their bodies, however, he says, were cast out at the prison door, and lay there in plain sight of all who craved the spectacle. And I learn that down to this day there is shown among the treasures of a temple in Syracuse a shield which is said to have been the shield of Nicias. It is a welded mosaic of gold and purple interwoven with rare skill.

XXIX. Most of the Athenians perished in the stone quarries of disease and evil fare, their daily rations being a pint of barley meal and a half-pint of water; but not a few were stolen away and sold into slavery, or succeeded in passing themselves off for serving men. These, when they were sold, were branded in the forehead with the mark of a horse,—yes, there were some freemen who actually suffered this indignity in addition to their servitude.

[1] Chapters xvi. f. [2] vii. 86, 2.

2 Ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἥ τ' αἰδὼ καὶ τὸ κόσμιον· ἢ γὰρ ἠλευθεροῦντο ταχέως ἢ τιμώμενοι παρέμενον τοῖς κεκτημένοις. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δι' Εὐριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. μάλιστα γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐπόθησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῦσαν οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἑκάστοτε δείγματα καὶ γεύματα κομιζόντων ἐκμαν-
3 θάνοντες ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις. τότε γοῦν φασι τῶν σωθέντων οἴκαδε συχνοὺς ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς μέν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφείθησαν ἐκδιδάξαντες ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμνηντο, τοὺς δ', ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην τροφῆς καὶ ὕδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ᾄσαντες. οὐ δεῖ δὴ θαυμάζειν ὅτι τοὺς Καυνίους φασὶ πλοίου προσφερομένου τοῖς λιμέσιν ὑπὸ ληστρίδων διωκομένου μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἀπείργειν, εἶτα μέντοι διαπυθανομένους εἰ γινώσκουσιν ᾄσματα τῶν Εὐριπίδου, φησάντων ἐκείνων, οὕτω παρεῖναι καὶ καταγαγεῖν τὸ πλοῖον.

XXX. Ἀθηναίοις δέ φασι τὴν συμφορὰν οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸν ἄγγελον ἄπιστον γενέσθαι. ξένος γάρ τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀποβὰς εἰς Πειραιᾶ καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ κουρεῖον, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων λόγους ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ὁ δὲ κουρεὺς ἀκούσας, πρὶν ἄλλους πυνθάνεσθαι, δρόμῳ

But even these were helped by their restrained and decorous bearing; some were speedily set free, and some remained with their masters in positions of honour. Some also were saved for the sake of Euripides. For the Sicilians, it would seem, more than any other Hellenes outside the home land, had a yearning fondness for his poetry. They were forever learning by heart the little specimens and morsels of it which visitors brought them from time to time, and imparting them to one another with fond delight. In the present case, at any rate, they say that many Athenians who reached home in safety greeted Euripides with affectionate hearts, and recounted to him, some that they had been set free from slavery for rehearsing what they remembered of his works; and some that when they were roaming about after the final battle they had received food and drink for singing some of his choral hymns. Surely, then, one need not wonder at the story that the Caunians, when a vessel of theirs would have put in at the harbour of Syracuse to escape pursuit by pirates, were not admitted at first, but kept outside, until, on being asked if they knew any songs of Euripides, they declared that they did indeed, and were for this reason suffered to bring their vessel safely in.

XXX. The Athenians, they say, put no faith in the first tidings of the calamity, most of all because of the messenger who brought them. A certain stranger, as it would seem, landed at the Piraeus, took a seat in a barber's shop, and began to discourse of what had happened as if the Athenians already knew all about it. The barber, on hearing this, before others learned of it, ran at the top of his

συντείνας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εὐθὺς κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε τὸν λόγον. 2 ἐκπλήξεως δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς, ὡς εἰκός, γενομένης, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες εἰσήγαγον τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὡς δ' ἐρωτώμενος παρ' οὗ πύθοιτο σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἶχε φράζειν, δόξας λογοποιὸς εἶναι καὶ ταράττειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὸν τροχὸν καταδεθεὶς ἐστρεβλοῦτο πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως ἐπῆλθον οἱ τὸ πᾶν κακόν, ὡς εἶχεν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οὕτω μόλις ὁ Νικίας ἐπιστεύθη παθὼν ἃ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν.

speed to the upper city, accosted the archons, and at once set the story going in the market place. Consternation and confusion reigned, naturally, and the archons convened an assembly and brought the man before it. But, on being asked from whom he had learned the matter, he was unable to give any clear answer, and so it was decided that he was a story-maker, and was trying to throw the city into an uproar. He was therefore fastened to the wheel and racked a long time, until messengers came with the actual facts of the whole disaster. So hard was it for the Athenians to believe that Nicias had suffered the fate which he had often foretold to them.

CRASSUS

ΚΡΑΣΣΟΣ

I. Μάρκος δὲ Κράσσος ἦν τιμητικοῦ καὶ θριαμ- 54
βικοῦ πατρός, ἐτράφη δ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ μετὰ δυοῖν ἀδελφῶν. καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες ἦσαν ἔτι τῶν γονέων ζώντων, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφοίτων τράπεζαν, ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα δοκεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σώφρων καὶ μέτριος γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῇ γυναικὶ συνῴκησε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔσχεν, οὐδενὸς ἧττον καὶ περὶ ταῦτα
2 Ῥωμαίων εὔτακτος γενόμενος. καίτοι προϊὼν καθ' ἡλικίαν αἰτίαν ἔσχε Λικιννίᾳ συνιέναι τῶν Ἑστιάδων μιᾷ παρθένων· καὶ δίκην ἔφυγεν ἡ Λικιννία Πλωτίου τινὸς διώκοντος. ἦν δὲ προάστειον αὐτῇ καλόν, ὃ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν ὀλίγης τιμῆς ὁ Κράσσος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσκείμενος ἀεὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ θεραπεύων, εἰς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐκείνην ἐνέπεσε· καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῇ φιλοπλουτίᾳ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπολυσάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀφείθη. τὴν δὲ Λικιννίαν οὐκ ἀνῆκε πρότερον ἢ τοῦ κτήματος κρατῆσαι.

II. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσι πολλαῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ Κράσσου κακίαν μόνην ἐπισκοτῆσαι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν· ἔοικε δὲ μία πασῶν ἐρρωμενεστέρα

CRASSUS

I. Marcus Crassus was the son of a man who had been censor and had enjoyed a triumph ; but he was reared in a small house with two brothers. His brothers were married while their parents were still alive, and all shared the same table, which seems to have been the chief reason why Crassus was temperate and moderate in his manner of life. When one of his brothers died, Crassus took the widow to wife, and had his children by her, and in these relations also he lived as well-ordered a life as any Roman. And yet when he was further on in years, he was accused of criminal intimacy with Licinia, one of the vestal virgins, and Licinia was formally prosecuted by a certain Plotius. Now Licinia was the owner of a pleasant villa in the suburbs which Crassus wished to get at a low price, and it was for this reason that he was forever hovering about the woman and paying his court to her, until he fell under the abominable suspicion. And in a way it was his avarice that absolved him from the charge of corrupting the vestal, and he was acquitted by the judges. But he did not let Licinia go until he had acquired her property.

II. The Romans, it is true, say that the many virtues of Crassus were obscured by his sole vice of avarice ; and it is likely that the one vice which

τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κακιῶν γενομένη τὰς ἄλλας ἀμαυρῶσαι. τεκμήρια δὲ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας αὐτοῦ μέγιστα ποιοῦνται τόν τε τρόπον τοῦ πορισμοῦ καὶ τῆς
2 οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος. τριακοσίων γὰρ οὐ πλείω κεκτημένος ἐν ἀρχῇ ταλάντων, εἶτα παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀποθύσας μὲν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑστιάσας, τρεῖς δὲ μῆνας ἑκάστῳ Ῥωμαίων σιτηρέσιον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ παρασχών, ὅμως πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείας αὐτὸς αὑτῷ θέμενος ἐκλογισμὸν τῆς οὐσίας εὗρεν ἑκατὸν
3 ταλάντων τίμημα πρὸς ἑπτακισχιλίοις. τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τούτων, εἰ δεῖ μετὰ βλασφημίας εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀληθές, ἐκ πυρὸς συνήγαγε καὶ πολέμου, ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀτυχίαις προσόδῳ τῇ μεγίστῃ χρησάμενος.

Ὅτε γὰρ Σύλλας ἑλὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐπώλει τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, λάφυρα καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὀνομάζων, καὶ βουλόμενος ὅτι πλείστοις καὶ κρατίστοις προσομόρξασθαι τὸ ἄγος,
4 οὔτε λαμβάνων οὔτ' ὠνούμενος ἀπεῖπε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁρῶν τὰς συγγενεῖς καὶ συνοίκους τῆς Ῥώμης κῆρας ἐμπρησμοὺς καὶ συνιζήσεις διὰ βάρος καὶ πλῆθος οἰκοδομημάτων, ἐωνεῖτο δούλους ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους. εἶτ' ἔχων τούτους ὑπὲρ πεντακοσίους ὄντας, ἐξηγόραζε τὰ καιόμενα καὶ γειτνιῶντα τοῖς καιομένοις, διὰ φόβον καὶ ἀδηλότητα τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπ' ὀλίγης τιμῆς προϊεμένων, ὥστε τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος
5 ὑπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. τοσούτους δὲ κεκτημένος

became stronger than all the others in him, weakened the rest. The chief proofs of his avarice are found in the way he got his property and in the amount of it. For at the outset he was possessed of not more than three hundred talents ;[1] then during his consulship he sacrificed the tenth of his goods to Hercules, feasted the people, gave every Roman out of his own means enough to live on for three months, and still, when he made a private inventory of his property before his Parthian expedition, he found that it had a value of seventy-one hundred talents. The greatest part of this, if one must tell the scandalous truth, he got together out of fire and war, making the public calamities his greatest source of revenue.

For when Sulla took the city and sold the property of those whom he had put to death, considering it and calling it spoil of war, and wishing to defile with his crime as many and as influential men as he could, Crassus was never tired of accepting or of buying it.[2] And besides this, observing how natural and familiar at Rome were such fatalities as the conflagration and collapse of buildings, owing to their being too massive and close together, he proceeded to buy slaves who were architects and builders. Then, when he had over five hundred of these, he would buy houses that were afire, and houses which adjoined those that were afire, and these their owners would let go at a trifling price owing to their fear and uncertainty. In this way the largest part of Rome came into his possession. But though he owned so many artisans, he built

[1] Plutarch gives Greek values. The talent was a sum of money nearly equivalent to £240, or $1200, with many times the purchasing power of money to-day [2] Cf. chapter vi. 6.

τεχνίτας οὐδὲν ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτὸς ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγε τοὺς φιλοικοδόμους αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν καταλύεσθαι χωρὶς ἀνταγωνιστῶν. ὄντων δ' αὐτῷ παμπόλλων ἀργυρείων, πολυτιμήτου δὲ χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅμως ἄν τις ἡγήσαιτο μηδὲν εἶναι ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν
6 οἰκετῶν τιμήν· τοσούτους ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοιούτους, 54
ἀναγνώστας, ὑπογραφεῖς, ἀργυρογνώμονας, διοικητάς, τραπεζοκόμους, αὐτὸς ἐπιστατῶν μανθάνουσι καὶ προσέχων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ ὅλως νομίζων τῷ δεσπότῃ προσήκειν μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπιμέλειαν ὡς ὄργανα ἔμψυχα τῆς οἰκονομικῆς.

7 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ὁ Κράσσος, εἴπερ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἡγεῖτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας δι' αὐτοῦ κυβερνᾶν· τὴν γὰρ οἰκονομικὴν ἐν ἀψύχοις χρηματιστικὴν οὖσαν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτικὴν γιγνομένην ὁρῶμεν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ εὖ, τὸ μηδένα νομίζειν μηδὲ φάσκειν εἶναι πλούσιον, ὃς οὐ δύναται τρέφειν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας
8 στρατόπεδον (ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται, κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὥσθ' ὁ πρὸς πόλεμον πλοῦτος ἀόριστος), καὶ πολὺ τῆς Μαρίου γνώμης ἀπηρτημένως. ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄνδρα νείμας ἑκάστῳ δέκα καὶ τέσσαρα πλέθρα γῆς ἔγνω πλέον ἐπιζητοῦντας, "Μηδείς," ἔφη, "γένοιτο Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγην ἡγούμενος τὴν τρέφειν ἀρκοῦσαν."

no house for himself other than the one in which he lived; indeed, he used to say that men who were fond of building were their own undoers, and needed no other foes. And though he owned numberless silver mines, and highly valuable tracts of land with the labourers upon them, nevertheless one might regard all this as nothing compared with the value of his slaves; so many and so capable were the slaves he possessed,—readers, amanuenses, silversmiths, stewards, table-servants; and he himself directed their education, and took part in it himself as a teacher, and, in a word, he thought that the chief duty of the master was to care for his slaves as the living implements of household management.

And in this Crassus was right, if, as he used to say, he held that anything else was to be done for him by his slaves, but his slaves were to be governed by their master. For household management, as we see, is a branch of finance in so far as it deals with lifeless things; but a branch of politics when it deals with men.[1] He was not right, however, in thinking, and in saying too, that no one was rich who could not support an army out of his substance; for "war has no fixed rations," as King Achidamus said,[2] and therefore the wealth requisite for war cannot be determined. Far different was the opinion of Marius, who said, after distributing to each of his veterans fourteen acres of land and discovering that they desired more, "May no Roman ever think that land too small which suffices to maintain him."

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 1253 b, 32.

[2] Cf. *Cleomenes* xxvii. 1; *Morals*, 190 a; 219 a. In *Demosthenes*, xvii. 3, the saying is put in the mouth of "Crobylus," as Hegesippus the Athenian orator was familiarly called.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ξένους ἦν φιλότιμος ὁ Κράσσος· ἀνέῳκτο γὰρ ἡ οἰκία πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδάνειζεν ἄνευ τόκων, ἀπῄτει δ' ἀποτόμως τοῦ χρόνου παρελθόντος εἰς ὃν ἐδάνεισε, καὶ τὸ προῖκα πολλῶν ἐγίνετο τόκων ἐπαχθέστερον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις ἡ μὲν κλῆσις ἦν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δημοτικὴ καὶ λαώδης, ἡ δ' εὐτέλεια τὴν καθαριότητα καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην ἡδίονα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς εἶχε.

2 Παιδείας δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγον μάλιστα μὲν τὸ ῥητορικὸν καὶ χρειῶδες εἰς πολλοὺς ἤσκησε, καὶ γενόμενος δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ πόνῳ τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους ὑπερέβαλεν. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ οὕτω δίκην φασὶ μικρὰν οὐδ' εὐκαταφρόνητον γενέσθαι πρὸς ἣν ἀπαράσκευος ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πομπηΐου πολλάκις ὀκνοῦντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἐξαναστῆναι καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἐκεῖνος ἀνεπλήρου τὴν συνηγορίαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

3 ἤρεσκεν ὡς ἐπιμελὴς καὶ βοηθητικός. ἤρεσκε δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλάνθρωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικόν. οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἀπήντησε Ῥωμαίων ἀδόξῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ Κράσσος ὃν ἀσπασάμενον οὐκ ἀντιπροσηγόρευσεν ἐξ ὀνόματος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καθ' ἱστορίαν γενέσθαι, καί τι καὶ φιλοσοφῆσαι τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους λόγοις προσθέμενος, ὧν διδάσκαλον εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἄνθρωπον εὐκολίας καὶ πραό-

III. However, Crassus was generous with strangers, for his house was open to all; and he used to lend money to his friends without interest, but he would demand it back from the borrower relentlessly when the time had expired, and so the gratuity of the loan was more burdensome than heavy interest. When he entertained at table, his invited guests were for the most part plebeians and men of the people, and the simplicity of the repast was combined with a neatness and good cheer which gave more pleasure than lavish expenditure.

As for his literary pursuits, he cultivated chiefly the art of speaking which was of general service, and after making himself one of the most powerful speakers at Rome, his care and application enabled him to surpass those who were most gifted by nature. For there was no case, they say, however trifling and even contemptible it might be, which he undertook without preparation, but often, when Pompey and Caesar and Cicero were unwilling to plead, he would perform all the duties of an advocate. And on this account he became more popular than they, being esteemed a careful man, and one who was ready with his help. He pleased people also by the kindly and unaffected manner with which he clasped their hands and addressed them. For he never met a Roman so obscure and lowly that he did not return his greeting and call him by name. It is said also that he was well versed in history, and was something of a philosopher withal, attaching himself to the doctrines of Aristotle, in which he had Alexander[1] as a teacher. This man gave proof of

[1] Perhaps Alexander Cornelius, surnamed Polyhistor, a contemporary of Sulla.

τητος ἀπόδειξιν διδόντα τὴν πρὸς Κράσσον συνή-
4 θειαν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀποφήνασθαι ῥᾳδίως πότερον
προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ πενέστερος ἢ προσελθὼν ἐγένετο.
μόνος γοῦν ἀεὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συναποδημῶν
στέγαστρον ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τοῦτ'
ἐπανελθὼν ἀπητεῖτο. ἀλλὰ[1] ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κίννας καὶ Μάριος κρατήσαντες
εὐθὺς ἦσαν ἔνδηλοι κατιόντες οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς
πατρίδος, ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει δ' ἄντικρυς καὶ ὀλέθρῳ
τῶν ἀρίστων, οἱ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἀπέθνη-
σκον, ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Κράσσου καὶ ὁ
ἀδελφός, αὐτὸς δὲ νέος ὢν παντάπασι τὸ μὲν
αὐτίκα δεινὸν ἐξέφυγε, πάντη δὲ περιβαλλόμενον
ἑαυτὸν αἰσθανόμενος καὶ κυνηγετούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
τυράννων τρεῖς φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ θεράποντας
δέκα, τάχει δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι χρησάμενος εἰς Ἰβη-
ρίαν ἔφυγε, γεγονὼς πάλαι στρατηγοῦντος τοῦ
2 πατρὸς αὐτόθι καὶ φίλους πεποιημένος. εὑρὼν δὲ
πάντας περιδεεῖς καὶ τὴν ὠμότητα τὴν Μαρίου
καθάπερ ἐφεστῶτος αὐτοῖς τρέμοντας, οὐδενὶ
γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἐθάρρησεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀγροὺς 54
ἐμβαλὼν παραλίους Οὐϊβίου Πακιακοῦ σπήλαιον
ἔχοντας εὐμέγεθες, ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτόν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν
Οὐίβιον ἔπεμψεν ἕνα δοῦλον ἀποπειρώμενος, ἤδη
3 καὶ τῶν ἐφοδίων ἐπιλιπόντων. ὁ δὲ Οὐίβιος ἀκού-
σας ἥσθη τε σωζομένῳ καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πλῆθος
τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθεν

[1] ἀλλά. Before this sentence the words φεῦ τῆς ὑπομενῆς, οὐδὲ τὴν πενίαν ὁ πλήμων ἀδιάφορον ἡγούμενος were early stricken from the text as a gloss (*oh, the patience of the poor fellow! for his philosophy did not regard poverty as a thing indifferent*).

contentedness and meekness by his intimacy with Crassus; for it is not easy to say whether he was poorer before or after his relations with his pupil. At any rate he was the only one of the friends of Crassus who always accompanied him when he went abroad, and then he would receive a cloak for the journey, which would be reclaimed on his return. But this was later on.

IV. When Cinna and Marius got the upper hand,[1] it was at once apparent that they would re-enter the city not for the good of their country, but for the downright destruction and ruin of the nobles; those who were caught were slain, and among them were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, being very young, escaped the immediate peril, but perceiving that he was surrounded on all sides by the huntsmen of the tyrants, he took with him three friends and ten servants and fled with exceeding speed into Spain, where he had been before, while his father was praetor there, and had made friends. But finding all men filled with fear and trembling at the cruelty of Marius as though he were close upon them, he had not the courage to present himself to any one. Instead, he plunged into some fields along the sea-shore belonging to Vibius Paciacus. In these there was a spacious cave, where he hid himself. However, since his provisions were now running low, and wishing to sound the man, he sent a slave to Vibius. But Vibius, on hearing the message, was delighted that Crassus had escaped, and after learning the number of his party and the place of their concealment, did not indeed

[1] In 87 B.C. Crassus was then not quite twenty years of age.

εἰς ὄψιν, τὸν δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἐπίτροπον προσαγαγὼν ἐγγὺς ἐκέλευσε καθ' ἡμέραν δεῖπνον πεποιημένον κομίζειν, καὶ τιθέντα παρὰ τὴν πέτραν ἀπέρχεσθαι σιωπῇ καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδ' ἐξετάζειν, προειπὼν πολυπραγμονοῦντι θάνατον, συμπράττοντι δὲ τοῦτο πιστῶς ἐλευθερίαν.

4 Τὸ δὲ σπήλαιον οὐκ ἄπωθεν μέν ἐστι θαλάσσης, κρημνοὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ συμφερόμενοι λεπτὴν καὶ ἀσαφῆ παραπέμπουσι λαύραν ἄγουσαν εἴσω, παρελθόντι δ' ὕψος τε θαυμαστὸν ἀναπέπταται, καὶ κατ' εὖρος ἔχει κόλπους δι' ἀλλήλων ἀνοιγομέ-5 νους μεγάλαις περιφερείαις. ἀμοιρεῖ δ' οὔτε ὕδατος οὔτε φωτός, ἀλλὰ πηγὴ μὲν ἡδίστου νάματος ὑπορρεῖ παρὰ τὸν κρημνόν, αὐτοφυεῖς δὲ ῥωχμοὶ τῆς πέτρας ᾗ μάλιστα περιπίπτει τὸ φῶς ἔξωθεν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ καταλάμπεται ἡμέρας τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς ἀὴρ ἀστάλακτος καὶ καθαρός, πυκνότητι τῆς πέτρας τὸ νοτερὸν καὶ ἀποτηκόμενον εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἐκπιεζούσης.

V. Ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι τῷ Κράσσῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καθ' ἡμέραν ἐφοίτα κομίζων ὁ ἄνθρωπος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶν ἐκείνους οὐδὲ γινώσκων, ὑπ' ἐκείνων δὲ καθορώμενος εἰδότων καὶ παραφυλαττόντων τὸν καιρόν. ἦν δ' ἄφθονα καὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, οὐ μόνον χρείαν, ποιούμενα τὰ πρὸς τὸ 2 δεῖπνον. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Οὐΐβιος ἁπάσῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ θεραπεύειν τὸν Κράσσον, ᾧ γε καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐν νῷ λαβεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ὡς παντάπασι νεανίας εἴη καί τι καὶ ταῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἡδοναῖς αὐτοῦ χαριστέον, ἐπεὶ τήν γε χρείαν ἀναγκαίως

come in person to see them, but brought the overseer of the property near the place, and ordered him to bring a complete meal there every day, put it near the cliff, and then go away without a word; he was not to meddle in the matter nor investigate it, and was threatened with death if he did meddle, and promised his freedom if he co-operated faithfully.

The cave is not far away from the sea, and the cliffs which enclose it leave a small and indistinct path leading inside; but when one has entered, it opens out to a wonderful height, and at the sides has recesses of great circumference opening into one another. There is no lack of water or of light, but a spring of purest flow issues from the base of the cliff, and natural fissures in the rock, where its edges join, admit the light from outside, so that in the day-time the place is bright. The air inside is dry and pure, owing to the thickness of the rock, which deflects all moisture and dripping water into the spring.

V. Here Crassus lived, and day by day the man came with the provisions. He himself did not see the party of the cave, nor even know who they were, but he was seen by them, since they knew and were on the watch for the time of his coming. Now, the meals were abundant, and so prepared as to gratify the taste and not merely satisfy hunger. For Vibius had made up his mind to pay Crassus every sort of friendly attention, and it even occurred to him to consider the youth of his guest, that he was quite a young man, and that some provision must be made for the enjoyments appropriate to his years; the mere supply of his wants he regarded as the work of one who rendered help under compulsion rather

μᾶλλον ἢ προθύμως ὑπουργοῦντος εἶναι. δύο δὴ θεραπαινίδας εὐπρεπεῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὡς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, δείξας τὴν ἄνοδον ἐκέλευεν εἴσω πορεύεσθαι καὶ
3 θαρρεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἰδόντες προσερχομένας ἔδεισαν μὴ καταφανὲς καὶ γνώριμον εἴη τὸ χωρίον· ἀνέκρινον οὖν αὐτὰς τί βούλονται καὶ τίνες εἰσίν. ὡς δ' ἀπεκρίναντο δεδιδαγμέναι δεσπότην ζητεῖν ἐνταῦθα κρυπτόμενον, μαθὼν ὁ Κράσσος τοῦ Οὐϊβίου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν παιδιὰν
4 καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἀνέλαβε τὰς παιδίσκας· καὶ συνῆσαν αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ὧν ἐδεῖτο φράζουσαι καὶ διαγγέλλουσαι πρὸς τὸν Οὐίβιον. τούτων φησὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἤδη πρεσβῦτιν οὖσαν ὁ Φαινεστέλλας ἰδεῖν αὐτός, καὶ πολλάκις ἀκοῦσαι μεμνημένης ταῦτα καὶ διεξιούσης προθύμως.

VI. Ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ὀκτὼ μῆνας οὕτω διαγαγὼν καὶ διακλαπείς, ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν Κίννα τελευτὴν φανερὸς γενόμενος, συνδραμόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλεξάμενος δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐπήρχετο τὰς πόλεις· καὶ
2 μίαν γε διήρπασε Μαλάκην, ὡς πολλοὶ γεγράφασιν, αὐτὸν δέ φασιν ἀρνεῖσθαι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας. ἐκ τούτου συναγαγὼν πλοῖα καὶ διαπεράσας εἰς Λιβύην ἀφίκετο πρὸς Μέτελλον Πίον, ἔνδοξον ἄνδρα, συνειλοχότα στρατιὰν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον. οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐνταῦθα παρέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ στασιάσας τῷ Μετέλλῳ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπῆρε, καὶ συνῆν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβὰς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὁ Σύλλας πάντας ἐβούλετο τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ

than with ready zeal. So he took with him two comely female slaves and went down towards the sea. When he came to the place of the cave, he showed them the path up to it, and bade them go inside and fear nothing. When Crassus saw them approaching, he was afraid that the place had been discovered and was now known. He asked them, accordingly, who they were and what they wanted. They answered, as instructed, that they were in search of a master who was hidden there. Then Crassus understood the kindly joke which Vibius was playing upon him, and received the girls; and they lived with him the rest of the time, carrying the necessary messages to Vibius. Fenestella [1] says that he saw one of these slaves himself, when she was now an old woman, and often heard her mention this episode and rehearse its details with zest.

VI. Thus Crassus passed eight months in concealment; but as soon as he heard of Cinna's death, he disclosed himself. Many flocked to his standard, out of whom he selected twenty-five hundred men, and went about visiting the cities. One of these, Malaca, he plundered, as many writers testify, but they say that he himself denied the charge and quarrelled with those who affirmed it. After this he collected sailing vessels, crossed into Africa, and joined Metellus Pius, an illustrious man, who had got together a considerable army. However, he remained there no long time, but after dissension with Metellus set out and joined Sulla, with whom he stood in a position of special honour. But when Sulla crossed into Italy, he wished all the young men with him to take active part in the campaign,

[1] A Roman historian who flourished under Augustus.

νέους ἔχειν ἐνεργοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην ἄλλον ἔταττε πρᾶξιν, ἀποστελλόμενος εἰς Μαρσοὺς ἐπὶ στρατιὰν ὁ Κράσσος ᾔτει φύλακας· ἡ γὰρ
3 πάροδος ἦν παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους. εἰπόντος 546
δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ σφόδρα πρὸς αὐτόν, "Δίδωμί σοι φύλακας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν ἀδελφόν, τοὺς φίλους, τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ὧν παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθέντων ἐγὼ [1] μετέρχομαι τοὺς φονεῖς," οὕτω παθών τι καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Κράσσος εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὠσάμενος εὐρώστως δύναμίν τε συχνὴν ἤθροισε καὶ πρόθυμον αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τῷ Σύλλᾳ παρεῖχεν.

4 Ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν πράξεων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἐγγενέσθαι τὴν πρὸς Πομπήϊον ὑπὲρ δόξης ἅμιλλαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήϊος ἡλικίᾳ τε λειπόμενος αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὸς γεγονὼς ἀδοξήσαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ μισηθέντος ἔσχατον μῖσος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξέλαμψε καὶ διεφάνη μέγας, ὥστε Σύλλαν, ἃ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ ἰσοτίμοις οὐ πάνυ πολλάκις παρεῖχεν, ὑπεξανίστασθαι προσιόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κεφαλὴν ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν αὐτο-
5 κράτορα. ταῦτα διέκαιε καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν Κράσσον οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐλασσούμενον.

Ἐμπειρίας τε γὰρ ἐνδεὴς ἦν καὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀφήρουν αἱ συγγενεῖς κῆρες ἐπιφερόμεναι, φιλοκέρδεια καὶ μικρολογία. καὶ γὰρ πόλιν Ὀμβρικὴν Τουδερτίαν ἑλὼν ἔδοξε

[1] ἐγὼ the conjecture of Bryan, mentioned by many editors with approval, and found in codex Matritensis by Graux: ἔργῳ *actually*.

and assigned different ones to different undertakings. Crassus, being sent out to raise a force among the Marsi, asked for an escort, since his road would take him past the enemy. But Sulla was wroth, and said to him vehemently: "I give thee as an escort thy father, thy brother, thy friends, and thy kinsmen, who were illegally and unjustly put to death, and whose murderers I am pursuing." Thus rebuked and incited, Crassus set out at once, and forcing his way vigorously through the enemy, raised a considerable force, and showed himself an eager partisan of Sulla in his struggles.

Out of these activities first arose, as they say, his ambitious rivalry with Pompey for distinction. For although Pompey was the younger man, and the son of a father who had been in ill repute at Rome and hated most bitterly by his fellow-citizens, still, in the events of this time his talents shone forth conspicuously, and he was seen to be great, so that Sulla paid him honours not very often accorded to men who were older and of equal rank with himself, rising at his approach, uncovering his head, and saluting him as Imperator. All this inflamed and goaded Crassus, although it was not without good reason that Sulla thus made less of him.

For he was lacking in experience, and his achievements were robbed of their favour by the innate curses of avarice and meanness which beset him. For instance, when he captured the Umbrian city of Tuder, it was believed that he appropriated to him-

πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων σφετερίσασθαι, καὶ διε-
6 βλήθη πρὸς Σύλλαν. ἀλλ' ἔν γε τῷ περὶ τὴν
Ῥώμην ἀγῶνι πάντων γενομένῳ μεγίστῳ καὶ
τελευταίῳ Σύλλας μὲν ἡττήθη, τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
ὠσθέντων καὶ συντριβέντων, Κράσσος δὲ τὸ
δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων ἐνίκησε καὶ μέχρι νυκτὸς
διώξας τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπεμψε πρὸς Σύλλαν, δεῖ-
πνον αἰτῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα
φράζων. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς καὶ δημεύσεσι
πάλιν κακῶς ἤκουσεν, ὠνούμενός τε τιμῆς βρα-
7 χείας μεγάλα πράγματα καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτῶν. ἐν δὲ
Βρεττίοις λέγεται καὶ προγράψαι τινὰ οὐ Σύλλα
κελεύσαντος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χρηματισμῷ, δι' ὃ καὶ
Σύλλαν καταγνόντα πρὸς μηθὲν ἔτι χρῆσθαι
δημόσιον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δεινότατος ἦν Κράσσος
πάντας ἀνθρώπους κολακείᾳ κατεργάσασθαι,
πάλιν δ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ κολακείας εὐάλω-
τος. ἴδιον δὲ κἀκεῖνο περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, φιλο-
κερδέστατον ὄντα μάλιστα μισεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖν
τοὺς ὁμοίους.

VII. Ἡνία δὲ Πομπήϊος αὐτὸν εὐημερῶν ἐν
ἡγεμονίαις καὶ πρὶν ἢ βουλῆς μεταλαβεῖν θριαμ-
βεύων καὶ Μάγνος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μέγας, ὑπὸ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀναγορευθείς. καί ποτε καὶ φήσαντός
τινος ὡς Πομπήϊος Μάγνος πρόσεισι, γελάσας
2 ἠρώτησεν ὁπηλίκος. ἀπογνοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς
ἐξισώσασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ὑπεδύετο τὴν πολιτείαν,
σπουδαῖς καὶ συνηγορίαις καὶ δανεισμοῖς καὶ τῷ
συμπαραγγέλλειν καὶ συνεξετάζεσθαι τοῖς δεομέ-
νοις τι τοῦ δήμου κτώμενος δύναμιν ἀντίπαλον

self most of the spoil, and charges to this effect were laid before Sulla. But in the struggle near Rome, which was the last and greatest of all, while Sulla was defeated and his army repulsed and shattered, Crassus was victorious with the right wing,[1] pursued the enemy till nightfall, and then sent to Sulla informing him of his success and asking supper for his soldiers. However, during the proscriptions and public confiscations which ensued, he got a bad name again, by purchasing great estates at a low price, and asking donations. It is said that in Bruttium he actually proscribed a man without Sulla's orders, merely to get his property, and that for this reason Sulla, who disapproved of his conduct, never employed him again on public business. And yet Crassus was most expert in winning over all men by his flatteries; on the other hand, he himself was an easy prey to flattery from anybody. And this too is said to have been a peculiarity of his, that, most avaricious as he was himself, he particularly hated and abused those who were like him.

VII. Now it vexed him that Pompey was successful in his campaigns, and celebrated a triumph before becoming a senator, and was called Magnus (that is, *Great*) by his fellow-citizens. And once when some one said: "Pompey the Great is coming," Crassus fell to laughing and asked: "How great is he?" Renouncing, therefore, all efforts to equal Pompey in military achievements, he plunged into politics, and by his zealous labours, his favours as advocate and money-lender, and his co-operation in all the solicitations and examinations which candidates for office had to make and undergo, he acquired

[1] Cf. Plutarch's *Sulla*, xxix. 5.

καὶ δόξαν ἦ Πομπήϊος εἶχεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ
3 μεγάλων στρατειῶν. καὶ πρᾶγμα συνέβαινεν
αὐτοῖς ἴδιον. μεῖζον γὰρ ἦν ἀπόντος ὄνομα τοῦ
Πομπηΐου καὶ κράτος ἐν τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς στρα-
τείας· παρὼν δὲ πολλάκις ἠλαττοῦτο τοῦ Κράσ-
σου, διὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ βίου
φεύγων τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἀναδυόμενος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ
τῶν δεομένων ὀλίγοις καὶ μὴ πάνυ προθύμως
βοηθῶν, ὡς ἀκμαιοτέραν ἔχοι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ
4 αὐτοῦ χρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐνδελεχὲς τὸ
χρήσιμον ἔχων καὶ σπάνιος οὐκ ὢν οὐδὲ δυσπρόσ-
οδος, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις ἀεὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀναστρε-
φόμενος, τῷ κοινῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ περιεγίνετο
τῆς ἐκείνου σεμνότητος. σώματος δὲ ἀξίωμα καὶ
λόγου πειθὼ καὶ προσώπου χάριν ἀγωγὸν
ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως προσεῖναι λέγουσιν.
5 Οὐ μέντοι πρὸς ἔχθραν τινὰ τὸν Κράσσον ἢ 547
κακόνοιαν ἐξήνεγκεν οὗτος ὁ ζῆλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Πομπηΐῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τιμωμένοις μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν
ἤχθετο, τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ ταύτῃ δυσμένειαν ἢ
κακοήθειαν οὐ συνῆπτε· καίτοι Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ
λῃστῶν ἁλοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ φρουρούμενος ἀνεβόη-
σεν· "Ἡλίκης, ὦ Κράσσε, χαρᾶς ἀπολαύσεις
6 πυθόμενος τὴν ἐμὴν ἅλωσιν." ἀλλ' ὕστερόν γε
φιλικῶς ἀλλήλοις προσεφέροντο· καί ποτε τῷ
Καίσαρι μέλλοντι μὲν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξιέναι στρα-
τηγῷ, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντι τῶν δανειστῶν
ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπιλαμβανο-

an influence and a repute equal to that which Pompey possessed from his many and great expeditions. And the experience of each man was peculiar. For Pompey's name and power were greater in the city when he was away from it, owing to his campaigns; but when he was at home, he was often less powerful than Crassus, because the pomp and circumstance of his life led him to shun crowds, retire from the forum, and render aid to a few only of those who asked it of him, and then with no great zest, that he might keep his influence the more unimpaired for use in his own behalf. But Crassus was continually ready with his services, was ever at hand and easy of access, and always took an active part in the enterprises of the hour, and so by the universal kindness of his behaviour won the day over his rival's haughty bearing. But in dignity of person, persuasiveness of speech, and winning grace of feature, both were said to be alike gifted.

However, this eager rivalry did not carry Crassus away into anything like hatred or malice; he was merely vexed that Pompey and Caesar should be honoured above himself, but he did not associate this ambition of his with enmity or malevolence. It is true that once when Caesar had been captured by pirates in Asia and was held a close prisoner by them,[1] he exclaimed: "O Crassus, how great a pleasure wilt thou taste when thou hearest of my capture!" But afterwards, at least, they were on friendly terms with one another, and once when Caesar was on the point of setting out for Spain as praetor, and had no money, and his creditors descended upon him and began to attach his outfit,

[1] See Plutarch's *Caesar*, chapter ii.

μένων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ' ἀπήλλαξεν ὑποθεὶς αὑτὸν ἔγγυον τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτακοσίων
7 ταλάντων. καθόλου δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς τρεῖς νενεμημένης δυνάμεις, τὴν Πομπηΐου, τὴν Καίσαρος, τὴν Κράσσου (Κάτωνος γὰρ ἡ δόξα μείζων ἦν τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον πλέον ἴσχυεν), ἡ μὲν ἔμφρων καὶ καθεστῶσα μερὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει Πομπήϊον ἐθεράπευε, τὸ δ' ὀξὺ καὶ φερόμενον μετ' εὐχερείας ταῖς Καίσαρος ἐλπίσιν ἐπηκο-
8 λούθει, Κράσσος δὲ μέσος ὢν ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρῆτο, καὶ πλείστας μεταβολὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβαλλόμενος οὔτε φίλος ἦν βέβαιος οὔτε ἀνήκεστος ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδίως καὶ χάριτος καὶ ὀργῆς ἐξέπιπτεν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὥστε πολλάκις μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλάκις δὲ νόμων ἐν ὀλίγῳ φανῆναι τῶν αὐτῶν συνήγορος καὶ ἀντίδικος.
9 ἴσχυε δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ φόβῳ, φόβῳ δ' οὐκ ἔλαττον. ὁ γοῦν πλεῖστα πράγματα παρασχὼν τοῖς καθ' αὑτὸν ἄρχουσι καὶ δημαγωγοῖς, Σικίννιος, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τί δὴ μόνον οὐ σπαράττει τὸν Κράσσον, ἀλλὰ παρίησι, χόρτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος. εἰώθεισαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν κυρίττοντα τῶν βοῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας χόρτῳ περιελίσσειν τὸ κέρας.

VIII. Ἡ δὲ τῶν μονομάχων ἐπανάστασις καὶ λεηλασία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ Σπαρτάκειον πόλεμον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Λέντλου τινὸς Βατιάτου μονομάχους ἐν Καπύῃ τρέφοντος, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ Γαλάται καὶ

Crassus did not leave him in the lurch, but freed him from embarrassment by making himself his surety for eight hundred and thirty talents. And when all Rome was divided into three powerful parties, that of Pompey, that of Caesar, and that of Crassus (for Cato's reputation was greater than his power, and men admired him more than they followed him), it was the thoughtful and conservative part of the city which attached itself to Pompey, the violent and volatile part which supported the hopes of Caesar, while Crassus took a middle ground and drew from both. He made very many changes in his political views, and was neither a steadfast friend nor an implacable enemy, but readily abandoned both his favours and his resentments at the dictates of his interests, so that, frequently, within a short space of time, the same men and the same measures found in him both an advocate and an opponent. And he had great influence, both from the favours which he bestowed and the fear which he inspired, but more from the fear. At any rate, Sicinnius, who gave the greatest annoyance to the magistrates and popular leaders of his day, when asked why Crassus was the only one whom he let alone and did not worry, said that the man had hay on his horn. Now the Romans used to coil hay about the horn of an ox that gored, so that those who encountered it might be on their guard.[1]

VIII. The insurrection of the gladiators and their devastation of Italy, which is generally called the war of Spartacus,[2] had its origin as follows. A certain Lentulus Batiatus had a school of gladiators at Capua, most of whom were Gauls and Thracians.

[1] Cf. foenum habet in cornu, Hor. *Sat.* i. 4, 34. [2] 73–71 B.C.

Θρᾷκες ἦσαν, ἐξ αἰτιῶν οὐ πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀδικίᾳ τοῦ πριαμένου συνειρχθέντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τῷ
2 μονομαχεῖν, ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν διακόσιοι φεύγειν, γενομένης δὲ μηνύσεως οἱ προαισθόμενοι καὶ φθάσαντες ὀγδοήκοντα δυεῖν δέοντες ἕκ τινος ὀπτανείου κοπίδας ἀράμενοι καὶ ὀβελίσκους ἐξεπήδησαν, ἐντυχόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἁμάξαις ὅπλα κομιζούσαις μονομάχων εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἀφήρπασαν καὶ ὡπλίσαντο· καὶ τόπον τινὰ καρτερὸν καταλαβόντες ἡγεμόνας εἵλοντο τρεῖς, ὧν πρῶτος ἦν Σπάρτακος, ἀνὴρ Θρᾷξ τοῦ Νομαδικοῦ γένους, οὐ μόνον φρόνημα μέγα καὶ ῥώμην ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει καὶ πραότητι τῆς τύχης
3 ἀμείνων καὶ τοῦ γένους Ἑλληνικώτερος. τοῦτῳ δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς Ῥώμην ὤνιος ἤχθη, δράκοντα κοιμωμένῳ περιπεπλεγμένον φανῆναι περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἡ γυνὴ δ' ὁμόφυλος οὖσα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου, μαντικὴ δὲ καὶ κάτοχος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς, ἔφραζε τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι μεγάλης καὶ φοβερᾶς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς εὐτυχὲς[1] τέλος ἐσομένης δυνάμεως· ἣ καὶ τότε συνῆν αὐτῷ καὶ συνέφευγε.

IX. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Καπύης ἐλθόντας ὡσάμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ὅπλων ἐπιλαβόμενοι πολεμιστηρίων ἄσμενοι ταῦτα μετελάμβανον, ἀπορρίψαντες ὡς ἄτιμα καὶ βάρβαρα τὰ τῶν μονομάχων· ἔπειτα Κλωδίου στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τρισχιλίων πεμφθέντος ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἐν ὄρει μίαν ἔχοντι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ

[1] εὐτυχὲς MSS. (including S), Coraës, and Sintenis[1]; Sintenis[2] and Bekker adopt ἀτυχές, Reiske's correction (*an unfortunate issue*).

Through no misconduct of theirs, but owing to the injustice of their owner, they were kept in close confinement and reserved for gladiatorial combats. Two hundred of these planned to make their escape, and when information was laid against them, those who got wind of it and succeeded in getting away, seventy-eight in number, seized cleavers and spits from some kitchen and sallied out. On the road they fell in with waggons conveying gladiators' weapons to another city; these they plundered and armed themselves. Then they took up a strong position and elected three leaders. The first of these was Spartacus, a Thracian of Nomadic stock, possessed not only of great courage and strength, but also in sagacity and culture superior to his fortune, and more Hellenic than Thracian. It is said that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen coiled about his face as he slept, and his wife, who was of the same tribe as Spartacus, a prophetess, and subject to visitations of the Dionysiac frenzy, declared it the sign of a great and formidable power which would attend him to a fortunate issue. This woman shared in his escape and was then living with him.

IX. To begin with, the gladiators repulsed the soldiers who came against them from Capua, and getting hold of many arms of real warfare, they gladly took these in exchange for their own, casting away their gladiatorial weapons as dishonourable and barbarous. Then Clodius the praetor was sent out from Rome against them with three thousand soldiers, and laid siege to them on a hill which had but one ascent, and that a narrow and difficult one,

2 στενὴν ἄνοδον, ἣν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐφρούρει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα 548
κρημνοὺς ἀποτόμους καὶ λισσάδας, ἄμπελον δὲ
πολλὴν ἀγρίαν ἐπιπολῆς πεφυκυῖαν, ἔτεμνον τῶν
κλημάτων τὰ χρήσιμα, καὶ συμπλέκοντες ἐξ
αὐτῶν κλιμακίδας εὐτόνους καὶ βαθείας, ὥστ'
ἄνωθεν ἀνηρτημένας παρὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ἅπτεσθαι
τῶν ἐπιπέδων, κατέβαινον ἀσφαλῶς δι' αὐτῶν
πλὴν ἑνός. οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἕνεκα μείνας,
ἐπεὶ κατέβησαν, ἠφίει κάτω τὰ ὅπλα καὶ βαλὼν
3 ἅπαντα τελευταῖος ἀπεσώζετο καὶ αὐτός. ταῦτ'
ἠγνόουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· διὸ καὶ περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς
ἐξέπληξαν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ, καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης
ἔλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ προσεγίνοντο πολ-
λοὶ τῶν αὐτόθι βοτήρων καὶ ποιμένων αὐτοῖς,
πλῆκται καὶ ποδώκεις ἄνδρες, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ὥπλι-
ζον, τοῖς δὲ προδρόμοις καὶ ψιλοῖς ἐχρῶντο.

4 Δεύτερος ἐκπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς
Πούπλιος Βαρῖνος, οὗ πρῶτα μὲν ὑποστρατηγόν
τινα Φούριον ἔχοντα δισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἐτρέ-
ψαντο συμβαλόντες· ἔπειτα σύμβουλον αὐτῷ
καὶ συνάρχοντα Κοσσίνιον ἀποσταλέντα μετὰ
πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Σπάρτακος λουό-
μενον περὶ Σαλίνας, μικρὸν ἐδέησε συναρπάσαι.
5 χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις ἐκφυγόντος εὐθὺς μὲν
ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, ἐκ ποδὸς δὲ κατέχων
καὶ διώκων φόνῳ πολλῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἷλεν.
ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ Κοσσίνιος. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν
ἄλλαις μάχαις πολλαῖς καταγωνισάμενος, τέλος
δὲ τούς τε ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ

which Clodius closely watched; everywhere else there were smooth and precipitous cliffs. But the top of the hill was covered with a wild vine of abundant growth, from which the besieged cut off the serviceable branches, and wove these into strong ladders of such strength and length that when they were fastened at the top they reached along the face of the cliff to the plain below. On these they descended safely, all but one man, who remained above to attend to the arms. When the rest had got down, he began to drop the arms, and after he had thrown them all down, got away himself also last of all in safety. Of all this the Romans were ignorant, and therefore their enemy surrounded them, threw them into consternation by the suddenness of the attack, put them to flight, and took their camp. They were also joined by many of the herdsmen and shepherds of the region, sturdy men and swift of foot, some of whom they armed fully, and employed others as scouts and light infantry.

In the second place, Publius Varinus, the praetor, was sent out against them, whose lieutenant, a certain Furius, with two thousand soldiers, they first engaged and routed; then Spartacus narrowly watched the movements of Cossinius, who had been sent out with a large force to advise and assist Varinus in the command, and came near seizing him as he was bathing near Salinae. Cossinius barely escaped with much difficulty, and Spartacus at once seized his baggage, pressed hard upon him in pursuit, and took his camp with great slaughter. Cossinius also fell. By defeating the praetor himself in many battles, and finally capturing his lictors and the very horse he rode, Spartacus was soon great and

λαβών, ἤδη μὲν μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν, ἐφρόνει δὲ τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις τὸν στρατόν, οἰόμενος δεῖν ὑπερβαλόντας αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χωρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Θρᾴκην, τοὺς δ'
6 εἰς Γαλατίαν. οἱ δὲ πλήθει τε ὄντες ἰσχυροὶ καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπόρθουν ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

Οὐκέτ' οὖν τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἠνώχλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ δὴ διὰ φόβον τε καὶ κίνδυνον ὡς πρὸς ἕνα τῶν δυσκολωτάτων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων ἀμφοτέρους ἐξέ-
7 πεμπον τοὺς ὑπάτους. ὧν Γέλλιος μὲν τὸ Γερμανικὸν ὕβρει καὶ φρονήματι τῶν Σπαρτακείων ἀποσχισθὲν ἐξαίφνης ἐμπεσὼν ἅπαν διέφθειρε, Λέντλου δὲ τὸν Σπάρτακον μεγάλοις στρατοπέδοις περιλαβόντος ὁρμήσας ὁμόσε καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἐκράτησε μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν. ὠθουμένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίας στρατηγὸς ἔχων μυρίους ἀπήντησε· καὶ γενομένης μάχης κρατηθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν μόλις αὐτὸς ἐξέφυγε.

X. Ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ πυθομένη τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, Κράσσον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγὸν εἵλετο· καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλίαν συνεστράτευον τῶν ἐπιφανῶν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπέμεινε πρὸ τῆς Πικηνίδος ὡς τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐκεῖ φερόμενον δεξόμενος, Μόμ-

formidable; but he took a proper view of the situation, and since he could not expect to overcome the Roman power, began to lead his army toward the Alps, thinking it necessary for them to cross the mountains and go to their respective homes, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But his men were now strong in numbers and full of confidence, and would not listen to him, but went ravaging over Italy.

It was now no longer the indignity and disgrace of the revolt that harassed the senate, but they were constrained by their fear and peril to send both consuls into the field, as they would to a war of the utmost difficulty and magnitude. Gellius, one of the consuls, fell suddenly upon the Germans, who were so insolent and bold as to separate themselves from the main body of Spartacus, and cut them all to pieces; but when Lentulus, the other consul, had surrounded the enemy with large forces, Spartacus rushed upon them, joined battle, defeated the legates of Lentulus, and seized all their baggage. Then, as he was forcing his way towards the Alps, he was met by Cassius, the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, with an army of ten thousand men, and in the battle that ensued, Cassius was defeated, lost many men, and escaped himself with difficulty.

X. On learning of this, the Senate angrily ordered the consuls to keep quiet, and chose Crassus to conduct the war, and many of the nobles were induced by his reputation and their friendship for him to serve under him. Crassus himself, accordingly, took position on the borders of Picenum, expecting to receive the attack of Spartacus, who was hastening thither; and he sent Mummius, his

μιον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν ἄγοντα δύο τάγματα κύκλῳ περιέπεμψεν, ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις,
2 συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ μὴ μηδὲ ἀψιμαχεῖν. ὁ δ' ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐπ' ἐλπίδος γενέσθαι μάχην θέμενος ἠττήθη· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔπεσον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων φεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος αὐτόν τε τὸν Μόμμιον ἐδέξατο τραχέως, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁπλίζων αὖθις ἐγγυητὰς ἤτει τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι φυλάξουσι, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοὺς πρώτους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τρέσαντας, εἰς πεντήκοντα διανείμας δεκάδας ἀφ' ἑκάστης ἀπέκτεινεν ἕνα τὸν κλήρῳ λαχόντα, πάτριόν τι τοῦτο διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων κόλασμα τοῖς στρατιώταις
3 ἐπαγαγών. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχύνη τοῦ θανάτου τῷ τρόπῳ πρόσεστι, καὶ δρᾶται πολλὰ φρικώδη καὶ σκυθρωπὰ περὶ τὴν κόλασιν ἁπάντων θεωμένων.

Οὕτω δ' ἐπιστρέψας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς 549
πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος ὑπεξεχώρει διὰ Λευκανίας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐν δὲ πορθμῷ λῃστρίσι Κιλίσσαις ἐπιτυχὼν ὥρμησεν ἄψασθαι Σικελίας καὶ δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν νῆσον αὖθις ἐκζωπυρῆσαι τὸν δουλικὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον, οὔπω πολὺν χρόνον ἀπεσβηκότα καὶ
4 μικρῶν πάλιν ὑπεκκαυμάτων δεόμενον. ὁμολογήσαντες δὲ οἱ Κίλικες αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα λαβόντες ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν. οὕτω δὴ πάλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναζεύξας ἐκάθισε τὸν στρατὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥηγίνων χερρόνησον. ἐπελθὼν δ' ὁ Κράσσος, καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶν ὑφηγουμένην τὸ δέον, ὥρμησεν ἀποτειχίσαι τὸν

legate, with two legions, by a circuitous route, with orders to follow the enemy, but not to join battle nor even skirmish with them. Mummius, however, at the first promising opportunity, gave battle and was defeated; many of his men were slain, and many of them threw away their arms and fled for their lives. Crassus gave Mummius himself a rough reception, and when he armed his soldiers anew, made them give pledges that they would keep their arms. Five hundred of them, moreover, who had shown the greatest cowardice and been first to fly, he divided into fifty decades, and put to death one from each decade, on whom the lot fell, thus reviving, after the lapse of many years, an ancient mode of punishing the soldiers. For disgrace also attaches to this manner of death, and many horrible and repulsive features attend the punishment, which the whole army witnesses.

When he had thus disciplined his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus avoided him, and retired through Lucania to the sea. At the Straits, he chanced upon some Cilician pirate craft, and determined to seize Sicily. By throwing two thousand men into the island, he thought to kindle anew the servile war there,[1] which had not long been extinguished, and needed only a little additional fuel. But the Cilicians, after coming to terms with him and receiving his gifts, deceived him and sailed away. So Spartacus marched back again from the sea and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium. Crassus now came up, and observing that the nature of the place suggested what must be done, he determined to build a wall

[1] 102–99 B.C.

ἰσθμόν, ἅμα καὶ τὴν σχολὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
5 ὑφαιρῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν πολεμίων. μέγα
μὲν οὖν ἦν καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἤνυσε δὲ καὶ
κατειργάσατο παρὰ δόξαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, τάφρον
ἐμβαλὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ
αὐχένος σταδίων τριακοσίων, εὖρος δὲ καὶ βάθος
ἴσον πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τάφρου
6 τεῖχος ἔστησεν ὕψει καὶ ῥώμῃ θαυμαστόν. ὧν ὁ
Σπάρτακος ἠμέλει καὶ κατεφρόνει τὸ πρῶτον· ὡς
δὲ τῆς λείας ἐπιλειπούσης προϊέναι βουλόμενος
συνεῖδε τὸν ἀποτειχισμὸν καὶ λαμβάνειν οὐδὲν
ἦν ἐκ τῆς χερρονήσου, νύκτα νιφετώδη καὶ
πνεῦμά τι χειμέριον παραφυλάξας ἔχωσε τῆς
τάφρου μέρος οὐ πολὺ γῇ καὶ ὕλῃ καὶ κλάδοις
δένδρων, ὥστε τῆς στρατιᾶς περαιῶσαι τὸ τρίτον.

XI. Ἐφοβήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Κράσσος μὴ λάβοι
τις ὁρμὴ τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν,
ἐθάρρησε δὲ πολλῶν ἐκ διαφορᾶς ἀποστάντων
αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένων καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐπὶ
Λευκανίδος λίμνης, ἣν φασι τρέπεσθαι διὰ χρόνου
γινομένην γλυκεῖαν καὶ αὖθις ἁλμυρὰν καὶ
ἄποτον. τούτοις ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κράσσος ἐξέωσε μὲν
ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης, ἀφῃρέθη δὲ τὸν φόνον καὶ τὴν
δίωξιν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέντος ὀξέως τοῦ Σπαρτάκου
καὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπιστήσαντος.

2 Γεγραφὼς δὲ τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον ὡς χρὴ καὶ
Λούκουλλον ἐκ Θρᾴκης καλεῖν καὶ Πομπήϊον ἐξ

across the isthmus, thereby at once keeping his soldiers from idleness, and his enemies from provisions. Now the task was a huge one and difficult, but he accomplished and finished it, contrary to all expectation, in a short time, running a ditch from sea to sea through the neck of land three hundred furlongs in length and fifteen feet in width and depth alike. Above the ditch he also built a wall of astonishing height and strength. All this work Spartacus neglected and despised at first; but soon his provisions began to fail, and when he wanted to sally forth from the peninsula, he saw that he was walled in, and that there was nothing more to be had there. He therefore waited for a snowy night and a wintry storm, when he filled up a small portion of the ditch with earth and timber and the boughs of trees, and so threw a third part of his force across.

XI. Crassus was now in fear lest some impulse to march upon Rome should seize Spartacus, but took heart when he saw that many of the gladiator's men had seceded after a quarrel with him, and were encamped by themselves on a Lucanian lake. This lake, they say, changes from time to time in the character of its water, becoming sweet, and then again bitter and undrinkable. Upon this detachment Crassus fell, and drove them away from the lake, but he was robbed of the slaughter and pursuit of the fugitives by the sudden appearance of Spartacus, who checked their flight.

Before this Crassus had written to the Senate that they must summon Lucullus[1] from Thrace and Pompey from Spain, but he was sorry now that he

[1] Marcus Lucullus, brother of Lucius.

Ἰβηρίας, μετενόει, καὶ πρὶν ἥκειν ἐκείνους ἔσπευδε διαπράξασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ προσγενομένου καὶ βοηθήσαντος, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὸ κατόρθωμα δόξει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν διαγνοὺς τοῖς ἀφεστῶσι καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν στρατευομένοις, ὧν ἀφηγοῦντο Γάϊος Καννίκιος καὶ Κάστος, ἐπιθέσθαι, λόφον τινὰ προκαταληψομένους ἄνδρας ἑξακισχιλίους ἀπέστειλε, λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι κελεύσας. 3 οἱ δ' ἐπειρῶντο μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ κράνη καταμπέχοντες, ὀφθέντες δ' ὑπὸ δυεῖν γυναικῶν προθυμένων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκινδύνευσαν, εἰ μὴ Κράσσος ὀξέως ἐπιφανεὶς μάχην ἔθετο πασῶν καρτερωτάτην, ἐν ᾗ τριακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις καὶ μυρίοις καταβαλὼν δύο μόνους εὗρε κατὰ νώτου τετρωμένους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἑστῶτες ἐν τάξει καὶ μαχόμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέθανον.

4 Σπαρτάκῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἧτταν ἀναχωροῦντι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τὰ Πετηλῖνα, Κοΐντος τῶν περὶ Κράσσον ἡγεμόνων καὶ Σκρώφας ταμίας ἐξαπτόμενοι παρηκολούθουν. ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ γίνεται φυγὴ μεγάλη τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μόλις τρωθέντα τὸν ταμίαν ἁρπάσαντες ἀπεσώθησαν. τοῦτο τὸν Σπάρτακον ἀπώλεσε τὸ κατόρθωμα, 5 φρονήματος ἐπιγενομένου τοῖς δραπέταις. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἠξίουν φυγομαχεῖν οὐδ' ἐπείθοντο τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις περισχόντες ἠνάγκασαν αὖθις ὀπίσω διὰ τῆς Λευκανίας ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰς ταὐτὸ τῷ

had done so, and was eager to bring the war to an end before those generals came. He knew that the success would be ascribed to the one who came up with assistance, and not to himself. Accordingly, in the first place, he determined to attack those of the enemy who had seceded from the rest and were campaigning on their own account (they were commanded by Caius Canicius and Castus), and with this in view, sent out six thousand men to preoccupy a certain eminence, bidding them keep their attempt a secret. And they did try to elude observation by covering up their helmets, but they were seen by two women who were sacrificing for the enemy, and would have been in peril of their lives had not Crassus quickly made his appearance and given battle, the most stubbornly contested of all; for although he slew twelve thousand three hundred men in it, he found only two who were wounded in the back. The rest all died standing in the ranks and fighting the Romans.

After the defeat of this detachment, Spartacus retired to the mountains of Petelia, followed closely by Quintus, one of the officers of Crassus, and by Scrophas, the quaestor, who hung upon the enemy's rear. But when Spartacus faced about, there was a great rout of the Romans, and they barely managed to drag the quaestor, who had been wounded, away into safety. This success was the ruin of Spartacus, for it filled his slaves with over-confidence. They would no longer consent to avoid battle, and would not even obey their leaders, but surrounded them as soon as they began to march, with arms in their hands, and forced them to lead back through Lucania against the Romans, the very thing which Crassus

Κράσσῳ σπεύδοντες. ἤδη γὰρ ὁ Πομπήϊος 5
προσιὼν ἀπηγγέλλετο· καὶ δὴ ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντες
ἦσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τὴν νίκην ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πολέμου
προσήκειν· ἐλθόντα γὰρ εὐθὺς μαχεῖσθαι καὶ
καταλύσειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπειγόμενος οὖν διαγωνί-
σασθαι καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις
ὤρυττε τάφρον, πρὸς ἣν ἐκπηδῶντες οἱ δοῦλοι
6 προσεμάχοντο τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις. ἀεὶ δὲ πλειόνων
ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκβοηθούντων ὁρῶν τὴν ἀνάγκην ὁ
Σπάρτακος ἅπαν παρέταξε τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ἵππου προσαχθέντος αὐτῷ
σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι νικῶν μὲν ἔχοι
πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ καλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων,
ἡττώμενος δὲ οὐ δεῖται, κατέσφαξε τὸν ἵππον·
ἔπειτα πρὸς Κράσσον αὐτὸν ὠθούμενος διὰ
πολλῶν ὅπλων καὶ τραυμάτων ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκ
ἔτυχεν, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ δύο συμπεσόντας ἀνεῖλε.
7 τέλος δὲ φυγόντων τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, αὐτὸς ἑστὼς
καὶ κυκλωθεὶς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀμυνόμενος κατεκόπη.
Κράσσου δὲ τῇ τύχῃ χρησαμένου καὶ στρατηγή-
σαντος ἄριστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κινδύνῳ παρασχόν-
τος, ὅμως οὐ διέφυγε τὸ κατόρθωμα τὴν Πομπηΐου
δόξαν. οἱ γὰρ διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες[1] αὐτῷ
διεφθάρησαν, ὥστε καὶ γράψαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλη-
τον ὅτι μάχῃ μὲν τοὺς δραπέτας φανερᾷ Κράσσος
νενίκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ῥίζαν
8 ἀνῄρηκε. Πομπήϊος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Σερτωρίου καὶ

[1] διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες Coraes' correction of the MSS. διαπεσόντες. Cf. *Pompey*, xxi. 2, from which Graux would correct δια<πεσόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης πεντακισχίλιοι περι>πεσόντες.

also most desired. For Pompey's approach was already announced, and there were not a few who publicly proclaimed that the victory in this war belonged to him; he had only to come and fight and put an end to the war. Crassus, therefore, pressed on to finish the struggle himself, and having encamped near the enemy, began to dig a trench. Into this the slaves leaped and began to fight with those who were working there, and since fresh men from both sides kept coming up to help their comrades, Spartacus saw the necessity that was upon him, and drew up his whole army in order of battle.

In the first place, when his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword, and saying that if he won the day he would have many fine horses of the enemy's, but if he lost it he did not want any, he slew his horse. Then pushing his way towards Crassus himself through many flying weapons and wounded men, he did not indeed reach him, but slew two centurions who fell upon him together. Finally, after his companions had taken to flight, he stood alone, surrounded by a multitude of foes, and was still defending himself when he was cut down. But although Crassus had been fortunate, had shown most excellent generalship, and had exposed his person to danger, nevertheless, his success did not fail to enhance the reputation of Pompey. For the fugitives from the battle [1] encountered that general and were cut to pieces, so that he could write to the senate that in open battle, indeed, Crassus had conquered the slaves, but that he himself had extirpated the war. Pompey, accordingly, for his

[1] Their number is given as five thousand in *Pompey*, xxi. 2.

Ἰβηρίας ἐπιφανῶς ἐθριάμβευσε, Κράσσος δὲ τὸν μὲν μέγαν θρίαμβον οὐδ' αὐτὸς αἰτεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν πεζόν, ὀούαν δὲ καλούμενον, ἀγεννῶς καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπὶ δουλικῷ πολέμῳ θριαμβεῦσαι. τί δ' οὗτος ἐκείνου διαφέρει, καὶ περὶ τῆς κλήσεως, ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.

XII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Πομπηΐου αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν καλουμένου, ἐλπίδας ἔχων ὁ Κράσσος συνάρξειν ὅμως οὐκ ὤκνησε τοῦ Πομπηΐου δεηθῆναι. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν χρείαν ἀσμένως ἐκεῖνος (ἐπεθύμει γὰρ ἀμῶς γέ πως ἀεὶ χάριτός τινος ὀφειλέτην λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον) ἐσπούδασε προθύμως, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ἐκκλησιάζων ὡς οὐκ ἐλάττονα περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος
2 ἕξει χάριν ἢ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. οὐ μὴν ἔμειναν ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς φιλοφροσύνης εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστάντες, ἀλλ' ὀλίγου δεῖν περὶ πάντων διαφερόμενοι καὶ πάντα δυσκολαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ φιλονεικοῦντες ἀπολίτευτον καὶ ἄπρακτον αὑτοῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐποίησαν, πλὴν ὅτι Κράσσος Ἡρακλεῖ μεγάλην θυσίαν ποιησάμενος εἱστίασε τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ μυρίων τραπεζῶν καὶ σῖτον
3 ἐμέτρησεν εἰς τρίμηνον. ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς τελευτώσης ἔτυχον μὲν ἐκκλησιάζοντες, ἀνὴρ δέ τις οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων, ἀγροῖκος δὲ τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἰδιώτης, Ὀνάτιος[1] Λυρήλιος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ προελθὼν[2] ὄψιν διηγεῖτο κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ γενομένην. "Ὁ γὰρ

[1] Ὀνάτιος in *Pompey*. xxiii. 1. Γάιος. Graux would therefore read here ὀνόματι Γάιος.

[2] προελθὼν with Stephanus, Coraes, and S: προσελθών.

victories over Sertorius and in Spain, celebrated a splendid triumph; but Crassus, for all his self-approval, did not venture to ask for the major triumph, and it was thought ignoble and mean in him to celebrate even the minor triumph on foot, called the ovation, for a servile war. How the minor triumph differs from the major, and why it is named as it is, has been told in my life of Marcellus.[1]

XII. After this, Pompey was at once asked to stand for the consulship, and Crassus, although he had hopes of becoming his colleague, did not hesitate to ask Pompey's assistance. Pompey received his request gladly (for he was desirous of having Crassus, in some way or other, always in debt to him for some favour), and eagerly promoted his candidature, and finally said in a speech to the assembly that he should be no less grateful to them for the colleague than for the office which he desired. However, when once they had assumed office,[2] they did not remain on this friendly basis, but differed on almost every measure, quarrelled with one another about everything, and by their contentiousness rendered their consulship barren politically and without achievement, except that Crassus made a great sacrifice in honour of Hercules, feasted the people at ten thousand tables, and made them an allowance of grain for three months. And when at last their term of office was closing, and they were addressing the assembly, a certain man, not a noble, but a Roman knight, rustic and rude in his way of life, Onatius Aurelius, mounted the rostra and recounted to the audience a vision that had come to him in his sleep. "Jupiter," he said, "appeared to me

[1] Chapter xxii. [2] 70 B.C.

Ζεύς," ἔφη, "μοι φανεὶς προσέταξεν εἰς κοινὸν εἰπεῖν ὅπως μὴ πρότερον περιΐδητε τοὺς ὑπάτους
4 ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ φίλους γενέσθαι." ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαλλάττεσθαι κελεύοντος, ὁ μὲν Πομπήϊος ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἑστώς, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ πρότερος, "Οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, οἶμαι, πολῖται, ταπεινὸν πράττειν οὐδ' ἀνάξιον ἐμαυτοῦ καταρχόμενος εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς Πομπήϊον, ὃν ὑμεῖς μήπω γενειῶντα Μέγαν ἀνηγορεύσατε καὶ μήπω μετέχοντι βουλῆς ἐψηφίσασθε θρίαμβον."

XIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπατεία τοῦ Κράσσου ταῦτ' ἔσχεν ἄξια μνήμης, ἡ δὲ τιμητεία παντάπασιν ἀτελὴς καὶ ἄπρακτος αὐτῷ διῆλθεν, οὔτε γὰρ βουλῆς ἐξέτασιν οὔθ' ἱππέων ἐπίσκεψιν οὔτ' ἀποτίμησιν πολιτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καίτοι συν- 551
ἄρχοντα Ῥωμαίων ἔχοντι τὸν πραότατον Λουτάτιον Κάτλον. ἀλλά φασιν ἐπὶ δεινὸν ὁρμήσαντι τῷ Κράσσῳ πολίτευμα καὶ βίαιον, Αἴγυπτον ποιεῖν ὑποτελῆ Ῥωμαίοις, ἀντιβῆναι τὸν Κάτλον ἐρρωμένως· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενομένης διαφορᾶς ἑκόντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν.

2 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῦ δεήσασιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην, ἥψατο μέν τις ὑπόνοια τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ προσῆλθεν ἄνθρωπος ὀνομάζων ἀπὸ τῆς συνωμοσίας,
3 οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐπίστευσεν. ὅμως δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἔν τινι λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστριβόμενος. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ὑπατείας

and bade me declare in public that you should not suffer your consuls to lay down their office until they become friends." When the man said this and the people urged a reconciliation, Pompey, for his part, stood motionless, but Crassus took the initiative, clasped him by the hand, and said: "Fellow-citizens, I think there is nothing humiliating or unworthy in my taking the first step towards good-will and friendship with Pompey, to whom you gave the title of 'Great' before he had grown a beard, and voted him a triumph before he was a senator."

XIII. Such, then, were the memorable things in the consulship of Crassus, but his censorship[1] passed without any results or achievements whatever. He neither made a revision of the senate, nor a scrutiny of the knights, nor a census of the people, although he had Lutatius Catulus, the gentlest of the Romans, for his colleague. But they say that when Crassus embarked upon the dangerous and violent policy of making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus opposed him vigorously, whereupon, being at variance, both voluntarily laid down their office.

In the affair of Catiline,[2] which was very serious, and almost subversive of Rome, some suspicion attached itself to Crassus, and a man publicly named him as one of the conspirators, but nobody believed him. Nevertheless, Cicero, in one of his orations,[3] plainly inculpated Crassus and Caesar. This oration, it is true, was not published until after both were dead; but in the oration upon his consulship,[3]

[1] 65 B.C. [2] 63–62 B.C. [3] Not extant.

ὁ Κικέρων νύκτωρ φησὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζοντα[1] τὰ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐξηγουμένην,[1] ὡς ἤδη βεβαιοῦντα
4 τὴν συνωμοσίαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Κράσσος ἀεὶ μὲν ἐμίσει τὸν Κικέρωνα διὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ βλάπτειν ἀναφανδὸν ἐμποδὼν εἶχε τὸν υἱόν. ὁ γὰρ Πόπλιος ὢν φιλολόγος καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἐξήρτητο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὥστε καὶ συμμεταβαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κρινομένῳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νέους ταὐτὰ ποιοῦντας παρασχεῖν. τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα πείσας φίλον ἐποίησεν.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, παρασκευαζόμενος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι καὶ Κράσσον ὁρῶν καὶ Πομπήϊον αὖθις ἐν διαφοραῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντας, οὔτε θατέρου δεηθεὶς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν ἐχθρὸν τὸν ἕτερον, οὔτε μηδετέρου συνεργοῦντος ἤλπιζε κατορθώσειν.
2 ἔπραττεν οὖν διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῖς προσκείμενος καὶ διδάσκων ὡς καταλύοντες ἀλλήλους αὔξουσι Κικέρωνας καὶ Κάτλους καὶ Κάτωνας, ὧν οὐδεὶς λόγος, ἂν ἐκεῖνοι συνενεγκόντες εἰς ταὐτὸ τὰς φιλίας καὶ τὰς ἑταιρείας ἑνὶ κράτει καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ τὴν πόλιν ἄγωσιν. πείσας δὲ καὶ διαλλάξας συνήγαγε καὶ συνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν ἰσχὺν ἄμαχον, ᾗ κατέλυσε Ῥωμαίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, οὐκ ἐκείνους δι' ἀλλήλων μείζονας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνων ἑαυτὸν μέγιστον ἀπεργασάμενος.
3 εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀρθεὶς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὕπατος ἀπεδεί-

[1] *κομίζοντα . . . ἐξηγουμένην* Sintenis' correction of the MSS. *κομίζοντα περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα καὶ ζητουμένην*, which Coraës and Bekker retain.

Cicero says that Crassus came to him by night with a letter which gave details of the affair of Catiline,[1] and felt that he was at last establishing the fact of a conspiracy. And Crassus, accordingly, always hated Cicero for this, but was kept from doing him any open injury by his son. For Publius Crassus, being given to literature and learning, was attached to Cicero, so much so that he put on mourning when Cicero did at the time of his trial, and prevailed upon the other young men to do the same. And finally he persuaded his father to become Cicero's friend.

XIV. Now when Caesar came back from his province and prepared to seek the consulship, he saw that Pompey and Crassus were once more at odds with each other. He therefore did not wish to make one of them an enemy by asking the aid of the other, nor did he have any hope of success if neither of them helped him. Accordingly, he tried to reconcile them by persistently showing them that their mutual ruin would only increase the power of such men as Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, men whose influence would be nothing if Crassus and Pompey would only unite their friends and adherents, and with one might and one purpose direct the affairs of the city. He persuaded them, reconciled them, and won them both to his support, and constituted with that triumvirate an irresistible power, with which he overthrew the senate and the people, not by making his partners greater, the one through the other, but by making himself greatest of all through them. For owing to the support of both he was

[1] Cf. Plutarch's *Cicero*, xv.

χθη λαμπρῶς. ὑπατεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ[1] ψηφισάμενοι στρατευμάτων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐγχειρίσαντες ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν, οἰόμενοι καθ' ἡσυχίαν νεμήσεσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκείνῳ βεβαιοῦντες ἣν ἔλαχεν ἀρχήν.

4 Πομπήϊος μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀμέτρου ταῦτ' ἔπραττε· τῶν δὲ Κράσσου νοσημάτων τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡ φιλοπλουτία καινὸν ἔρωτα προσλαβοῦσα καὶ ζῆλον ἐπὶ ταῖς Καίσαρος ἀριστείαις τροπαίων καὶ θριάμβων, οἷς γε μόνοις ἐλαττοῦσθαι προΐχοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν οὐδ' ἐλώφησε πρὶν εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀκλεῆ καὶ
5 δημοσίας συμφορὰς τελευτῆσαι. Καίσαρος γὰρ εἰς Λοῦκαν πόλιν ἐκ Γαλατίας καταβάντος ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀφίκοντο, καὶ Πομπήϊος καὶ Κράσσος ἰδίᾳ συγγενόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Καίσαρος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μένοντος, ἄλλας δὲ ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα Πομπηΐου καὶ Κράσσου λαβόν-
6 των. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁδὸς ἦν μία δευτέρας ὑπατείας αἴτησις· ἣν μετιόντων ἐκείνων ἔδει συμπράττειν Καίσαρα, τοῖς τε φίλοις γράφοντα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμποντα πολλοὺς ἀρχαιρεσιάσοντας.

XV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ περὶ Κράσσον εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ὕποπτοι, καὶ πολὺς ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων λόγος οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γεγο-

[1] αὐτῷ after this word καλῶς is bracketed by Sintenis and Bekker.

at once triumphantly elected consul.[1] And during his consulship they voted him armies to command, and put Gaul into his hands, and so, as it were, established him in an acropolis, thinking to share the rest with one another at their leisure if they secured to him his allotted province.

Now Pompey did all this from an unbounded love of power; but to that ancient infirmity of Crassus, his avarice, there was now added a fresh and ardent passion, in view of the glorious exploits of Caesar, for trophies and triumphs. In these alone he thought himself inferior to Caesar, but superior in everything else. And his passion gave him no rest nor peace until it ended in an inglorious death and public calamities. For when Caesar came down to the city of Luca[2] from Gaul, many Romans came thither to meet him, and among them Pompey and Crassus. These held private conferences with Caesar, and the three determined to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves sole masters of the state. Caesar was to remain in his command, while Pompey and Crassus were to take other provinces and armies. But the only way to secure this end was by soliciting a second consulship. Since Pompey and Crassus were candidates for this, Caesar was to co-operate with them by writing letters to his friends and by sending many of his soldiers home to support them at the elections.

XV. With this understanding, Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, and were at once objects of suspicion; report was rife through the whole city that their meeting with Caesar had been for no good

[1] 59 B.C. [2] 56 B.C.

νέναι τὴν σύνοδον αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Δομιτίου Πομπηΐου ἐρωτώντων εἰ μέτεισιν ὑπατείαν, ἀπεκρίνατο τυχὸν μὲν 552
μετιέναι, τυχὸν δὲ μὴ μετιέναι· καὶ πάλιν ἐρωτώμενος ἔφη μετιέναι τοῖς δικαίοις πολίταις, μὴ
2 μετιέναι δὲ τοῖς ἀδίκοις. τούτου δὲ δόξαντος ὑπερηφάνους ἀποκρίσεις καὶ τετυφωμένας ποιεῖσθαι μετριώτερον ὁ Κράσσος εἶπεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, μετιέναι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ δὲ μή, πεπαύσεσθαι. διὸ καί τινες ἐθάρρησαν ὑπατείαν μετελθεῖν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Δομίτιος. γενομένων δὲ φανερῶν ἐκείνων ἐν ταῖς παραγγελίαις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι δείσαντες ἀπέστησαν, Δομίτιον δὲ Κάτων οἰκεῖον ὄντα καὶ φίλον ἐθάρρυνεν ἐγκελευόμενος καὶ παρορμῶν ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐλπίδος ὡς ὑπερμαχοῦντα τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας· οὐ γὰρ ὑπατείας Πομπήϊον δεῖσθαι καὶ Κράσσον, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδος, οὐδ' ἀρχῆς αἴτησιν, ἀλλ' ἁρπαγὴν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ
3 στρατοπέδων εἶναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγων οὕτω καὶ φρονῶν ὁ Κάτων μονονοὺ βίᾳ προῆγεν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὸν Δομίτιον, καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ θαυμάζον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦν, "Τί δὴ δευτέρας οὗτοι χρῄζουσιν ὑπατείας; τί δὲ πάλιν μετ' ἀλλήλων; τί δ' οὐ μεθ' ἑτέρων; πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀνάξιοι δήπου Κράσσῳ καὶ Πομπηΐῳ συν-
4 άρχειν." ἐκ τούτου δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Πομπήϊον οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο τῶν ἀκοσμοτάτων καὶ βιαιοτάτων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις λόχον ὑφέντες

purpose. In the senate, also, when Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompey if he was going to be a candidate for the consulship, he replied that perhaps he was, and perhaps he was not; and when asked the question again, he said he should solicit the votes of the good citizens, but not those of the bad. Since his answers were thought to have been made in pride and arrogance, Crassus said, more modestly, when the question was put to him, that if it was for the interest of the city, he would be a candidate for the office, but otherwise he would desist. For this reason divers persons were emboldened to sue for the consulship, one of whom was Domitius. When, however, Pompey and Crassus openly announced their candidature, the rest took fright and withdrew from the contest; but Cato encouraged Domitius, who was a kinsman and friend of his, to proceed, urging and inciting him to cling to his hopes, assured that he would do battle for the common freedom. For it was not the consulate, he said, which Crassus and Pompey wanted, but a tyranny, nor did their course of action mean simply a canvass for office, but rather a seizure of provinces and armies.

With such words and such sentiments Cato all but forced Domitius to go down to the forum as a candidate, and many joined their party. Many, too, voiced their amazement thus: "Why, pray, should these men want a second consulship? And why once more together? Why not have other colleagues? Surely there are many men among us who are not unworthy to be colleagues of Pompey and Crassus!" Alarmed at this, the partizans of Crassus and Pompey abstained from no disorder or violence, however extreme, and capped the climax by way-

τῷ Δομιτίῳ νυκτὸς ἔτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατερχομένῳ κτείνουσι μὲν τὸν ἀνέχοντα τὸ φῶς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, συντιτρώκουσι δὲ πολλούς, ὧν ἦν καὶ Κάτων. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς
5 τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνους ἀνηγορεύθησαν ὕπατοι· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον αὖθις ὅπλοις περισχόντες τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκβαλόντες[1] καί τινας ὑποστάντας ἀποκτείναντες, Καίσαρι μὲν ἄλλην ἐπέδοσαν πενταετίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὑτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἐψηφίσαντο Συρίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίας συναμφοτέρας. κληρουμένων δὲ Συρίαν ἔλαχε Κράσσος, τὰ δ' Ἰβηρικὰ Πομπήϊος.

XVI. Ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκούσιος ὁ κλῆρος ἅπασιν. οἵ τε γὰρ πολλοὶ Πομπήϊον μὴ μακρὰν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως ἐβούλοντο, καὶ Πομπήϊος ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτόθι τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβειν ἔμελλε, Κράσσος δὲ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκπεσόντι τῷ κλήρῳ καταφανὴς ἦν οὐδὲν εὐτύχημα λαμπρότερον ἑαυτῷ γεγονέναι τοῦ παρόντος ἡγούμενος, ὡς μόλις ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις πολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μειρακιώδη λέγειν παρ' ἡλικίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φύσιν, ἥκιστα
2 κομπαστὴς ἢ σοβαρὸς τῷ βίῳ γεγονώς. τότε δ' ἐπηρμένος κομιδῇ καὶ διεφθαρμένος οὐ Συρίαν οὐδὲ Πάρθους ὅρον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς εὐπραξίας, ἀλλ' ὡς παιδιὰν ἀποφανῶν τὰ Λουκούλλου πρὸς Τιγράνην καὶ Πομπηΐου πρὸς Μιθριδάτην, ἄχρι Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἀνῆγεν ἑαυτὸν ταῖς ἐλπίσι.

[1] In codex Matritensis Graux found after this word μετὰ τῶν φίλων (*together with his friends*).

laying Domitius, as he was coming down into the forum before day-break with his followers, killing his torch-bearer, and wounding many, among whom was Cato. After routing their opponents and shutting them up at home, they had themselves proclaimed consuls,[1] and a short time afterwards they once more surrounded the rostra with armed men, cast Cato out of the forum, slew several who made resistance, and then had another five years added to the proconsulship of Caesar in Gaul, and the provinces of Syria and both Spains voted to themselves. When the lot was cast, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

XVI. Now the lot fell out to the satisfaction of everybody. For most of the people wished Pompey to be not far away from the city; Pompey, who was passionately fond of his wife,[2] intended to spend most of his time there; and as for Crassus, as soon as the lot fell out, he showed by his joy that he regarded no piece of good fortune in his whole life as more radiant than the one which had now come to him. Among strangers and in public he could scarcely hold his peace, while to his intimates he made many empty and youthful boasts which ill became his years and his disposition, for he had been anything but boastful or bombastic before this. But now, being altogether exalted and out of his senses, he would not consider Syria nor even Parthia as the boundaries of his success, but thought to make the campaigns of Lucullus against Tigranes and those of Pompey against Mithridates seem mere child's play, and flew on the wings of his hopes as far as Bactria and India and the Outer Sea.

[1] 55 B.C. [2] Julia, Caesar's daughter, who died in 54 B.C.

3 Καίτοι τῷ γραφέντι περὶ τούτων νόμῳ Παρθικὸς πόλεμος οὐ προσῆν. ἤδεσαν δὲ πάντες ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο[1] Κράσσος ἐπτόηται· καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἔγραφεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐπαινῶν καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δημαρχῶν Ἀτήϊος ἔμελλε πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἐναντιώσεσθαι, καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ χαλεπαίνοντες εἴ τις ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνσπόνδοις, πολεμήσων ἄπεισι, δείσας ὁ Κράσσος ἐδεήθη Πομπηΐου παραγενέσθαι καὶ συμπροπέμψαι· 4 μέγα γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνου τὸ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ἀξίωμα· καὶ τότε παρεσκευασμένους πολλοὺς ἐνίστασθαι καὶ καταβοᾶν ὁρώμενος πρὸ αὐτοῦ φαιδρῷ βλέμματι καὶ προσώπῳ κατεπράϋνεν ὁ Πομπήϊος, ὥσθ' ὑπείκειν σιωπῇ δι' αὐτῶν προϊοῦσιν. ὁ δ' Ἀτήϊος ἀπαντήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς 553
ἐκώλυε καὶ διεμαρτύρετο μὴ βαδίζειν, ἔπειτα τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευεν ἁψάμενον τοῦ σώματος κατέ- 5 χειν. ἄλλων δὲ δημάρχων οὐκ ἐώντων, ὁ μὲν ὑπηρέτης ἀφῆκε τὸν Κράσσον, ὁ δ' Ἀτήϊος προδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἔθηκεν ἐσχαρίδα καιομένην, καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου γενομένου κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ κατασπένδων ἀρὰς ἐπηρᾶτο δεινὰς μὲν αὐτὰς καὶ φρικώδεις, δεινοὺς δέ τινας θεοὺς καὶ ἀλλοκό- 6 τους ἐπ' αὐταῖς καλῶν καὶ ὀνομάζων· ταύτας φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἀρὰς ἀποθέτους καὶ παλαιὰς τοιαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν ὡς περιφυγεῖν μηδένα τῶν ἐνσχεθέντων αὐταῖς, κακῶς δὲ πράσσειν καὶ τὸν χρησάμενον, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν αὐτὰς οὐδ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀρᾶσθαι. καὶ τότ' οὖν ἐμέμφοντο τὸν

[1] τοῦτο Bekker adopts τοῦτον from Reiske.

And yet in the decree which was passed regarding his mission there was no mention of a Parthian war. But everybody knew that Crassus was all eagerness for this, and Caesar wrote to him from Gaul approving of his project, and inciting him on to the war. And when Ateius, one of the tribunes of the people, threatened to oppose his leaving the city, and a large party arose which was displeased that anyone should go out to wage war on men who had done the state no wrong, but were in treaty relations with it, then Crassus, in fear, begged Pompey to come to his aid and join in escorting him out of the city. For great was Pompey's reputation with the crowd. And now, when the multitude drawn up to resist the passage of Crassus, and to abuse him, saw Pompey's beaming countenance in front of him, they were mollified, and gave way before them in silence. But Ateius, on meeting Crassus, at first tried to stop him with words, and protested against his advance; then he bade his attendant seize the person of Crassus and detain him. And when the other tribunes would not permit this, the attendant released Crassus, but Ateius ran on ahead to the city gate, placed there a blazing brazier, and when Crassus came up, cast incense and libations upon it, and invoked curses which were dreadful and terrifying in themselves, and were reinforced by sundry strange and dreadful gods whom he summoned and called by name. The Romans say that these mysterious and ancient curses have such power that no one involved in them ever escapes, and misfortune falls also upon the one who utters them, wherefore they are not employed at random nor by many. And accordingly at this time they found

Ἀτήϊον, εἰ δι' ἣν ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ Κράσσῳ πόλιν, εἰς αὐτὴν ἀρὰς ἀφῆκε καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην.

XVII. Ὁ δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἦλθεν. ἔτι δ' ἀστατούσης χειμῶσι τῆς θαλάσσης οὐ περιέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἀνήχθη καὶ συχνὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπέβαλε, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν δύναμιν ἠπείγετο πεζῇ διὰ Γαλατίας. εὑρὼν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Δηϊόταρον πάνυ μὲν ὄντα γηραιὸν ἤδη, κτίζοντα δὲ νέαν πόλιν, ἐπέσκωψεν εἰπών· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, δωδεκάτης ὥρας οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχῃ." 2 γελάσας δ' ὁ Γαλάτης· "Ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτός," εἶπεν, "ὦ αὐτόκρατορ, ὡς ὁρῶ, πρωῒ λίαν ἐπὶ Πάρθους ἐλαύνεις." ἦν δ' ὁ Κράσσος ἑξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη παραλλάττων, πρεσβύτερος δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν. ἀφικόμενον δ' αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο τὰ πράγματα τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀξίως τὸ πρῶτον. καὶ γὰρ ἔζευξε ῥᾳδίως τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ διήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ κατέσχεν ἑκουσίως προσθεμένας. 3 ἐν μιᾷ δ', ἧς Ἀπολλώνιος ἐτυράννει, στρατιωτῶν ἑκατὸν ἀναιρεθέντων ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ κρατήσας διήρπασε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδοτο· Ζηνοδοτίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν πόλιν οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐπὶ ταύτης ἁλούσης δεξάμενος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναγορευθῆναι πολλὴν ὦφλεν αἰσχύνην, καὶ ταπεινὸς ἐφάνη καὶ περὶ τὰ μείζονα δύσελπις οὕτω πλεονέκτημα 4 μικρὸν ἠγαπηκώς. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ φρουρὰς ταῖς προσκεχωρηκυίαις πόλεσιν, ὧν ἀριθμὸς ἦν

fault with Ateius because it was for the city's sake that he was angered at Crassus, and yet he had involved the city in curses which awakened much superstitious terror.

XVII. But Crassus came to Brundisium.[1] And though the sea was still rough with wintry storms, he would not wait, but put out, and so lost a great number of his vessels. With what was left of his forces, however, he hurried on by land through Galatia. And finding that King Deiotarus, who was now a very old man, was founding a new city, he rallied him, saying: "O King, you are beginning to build at the twelfth hour." The Galatian laughed and said: "But you yourself, Imperator, as I see, are not marching very early in the day against the Parthians." Now Crassus was sixty years old and over, and looked older than his years. On his arrival, things went at first as he had hoped, for he easily bridged the Euphrates and led his army across in safety, and took possession of many cities in Mesopotamia which came over to him of their own accord. But at one of them, of which Apollonius was tyrant, a hundred of his soldiers were slain,[2] whereupon he led up his forces against it, mastered it, plundered its property, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. The city was called Zenodotia by the Greeks. For its capture he allowed his soldiers to salute him as Imperator, thereby incurring much disgrace and showing himself of a paltry spirit and without good hope for the greater struggles that lay before him, since he was so delighted with a trifling acquisition. After furnishing the cities which had come over to his side with garrisons, which amounted

[1] 54 B.C. [2] Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 13.

ἑπτακισχίλιοι πεζοὶ χίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς, ἀνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαχειμάσων καὶ δεξόμενος αὐτόθι τὸν υἱὸν ἥκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας αὐτόν τε κεκοσμημένον ἀριστείοις καὶ χιλίους ἱππεῖς ἐπιλέκτους ἄγοντα.

Τοῦτο πρῶτον ἁμαρτεῖν ἔδοξεν ὁ Κράσσος μετὰ γε τὴν στρατείαν αὐτὴν μέγιστον ἁμάρτημα τῶν γενομένων, ὅτι πρόσω χωρεῖν δέον ἔχεσθαί τε Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Σελευκείας, δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ Πάρθοις πόλεων, χρόνον ἐνέδωκε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρα-
5 σκευῆς. ἔπειτα τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ διατριβὰς ᾐτιῶντο χρηματιστικὰς μᾶλλον οὔσας ἢ στρατηγικάς· οὐ γὰρ ὅπλων ἀριθμὸν ἐξετάζων οὐδὲ γυμνασιῶν ποιούμενος ἀμίλλας, ἀλλὰ προσόδους πόλεων ἐκλογιζόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει θεοῦ σταθμοῖς καὶ τρυτάναις μεταχειριζόμενος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἐπιγράφων δὲ καὶ δήμοις καὶ δυνάσταις στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους, εἶτ' ἀνιεὶς ἀργύριον διδόντας, ἠδόξει καὶ κατεφρονεῖτο τούτοις.
6 γίνεται δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὑγρῶν παρασχοῦσαν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν νομίζουσι, καὶ τὴν πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν καταδείξασαν. ἐξιόντων γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐσφάλη κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὁ νεανίας Κράσσος, εἶτ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιπεσὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος. 554

XVIII. Ἤδη δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων συναθροίζοντος αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο παρ' Ἀρσάκου βραχύν τινα λόγον κομίζοντες. ἔφασαν

in all to seven thousand men at-arms and a thousand horsemen, he himself withdrew to take up winter quarters in Syria, and to await there his son, who was coming from Caesar in Gaul, decorated with the insignia of his deeds of valour, and leading a thousand picked horsemen.

This was thought to be the first blunder which Crassus committed,—after the expedition itself, which was the greatest of all his blunders,—because, when he should have advanced and come into touch with Babylon and Seleucia, cities always hostile to the Parthians, he gave his enemies time for preparation. Then, again, fault was found with him because his sojourn in Syria was devoted to mercenary rather than military purposes. For he made no estimate of the number of his troops, and instituted no athletic contests for them, but reckoned up the revenues of cities, and spent many days weighing exactly the treasures of the goddess in Hierapolis, and prescribed quotas of soldiers for districts and dynasts to furnish, only to remit the prescription when money was offered him, thereby losing their respect and winning their contempt. And the first warning sign came to him from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, others Juno, while others still regard her as the natural cause which supplies from moisture the beginnings and seeds of everything, and points out to mankind the source of all blessings. For as they were leaving her temple, first the youthful Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and then his father fell over him.

XVIII. No sooner had he begun to assemble his forces from their winter quarters than envoys came to him from Arsaces[1] with a wonderfully brief

[1] In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.

γάρ, εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁ στρατὸς ἀπέσταλται, πόλεμον ἄσπονδον εἶναι καὶ ἀδιάλλακτον, εἰ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ἀκούσης, ὡς πυνθάνονται, Κράσσος ἰδίων ἕνεκα κερδῶν ὅπλα Πάρθοις ἐπενήνοχε καὶ χώραν κατείληφε, μετριάζειν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τὸ μὲν Κράσσου γῆρας οἰκτείρειν, ἀφιέναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔχει φρουρουμένους μᾶλλον ἢ
2 φρουροῦντας. πρὸς ταῦτα Κράσσου κομπάσαντος ὡς ἐν Σελευκείᾳ δώσει τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, γελάσας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν πρέσβεων Οὐαγίσης καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ὑπτίας δείξας τὸ μέσον· "Ἐντεῦθεν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Κράσσε, φύσονται τρίχες πρότερον ἢ σὺ ὄψει Σελεύκειαν."

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀπήλαυνον ὡς βασιλέα Τρώδην πολεμητέα φράσοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἐφρούρουν Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, παραβόλως τινὲς διεκπεσόντες ἄξια φροντίδων ἀνήγγελ-
3 λον, αὐτόπται μὲν γεγονότες τοῦ τε πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων ὧν ἠγωνίσαντο προσμαχόμενοι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ πάντα πρὸς τὸ δεινότερον ἐξαγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἄφυκτοι μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες διώκοντες, ἄληπτοι δὲ φεύγοντες, βέλη δὲ καινὰ[1] προθέοντα τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πρὶν ὀφθῆναι τὸν βάλλοντα χωροῦντα διὰ τοῦ προστυχόντος, τῶν δὲ καταφράκτων ὅπλα τὰ μὲν διὰ παντὸς ὠθεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι πεποιημένα.

[1] καινὰ MSS., Coraës, Sintenis,[1] and Bekker; πτηνὰ (*winged*) from Pseudo-Appian.

message. They said that if the army had been sent out by the Roman people, it meant war without truce and without treaty; but if it was against the wishes of his country, as they were informed, and for his own private gain that Crassus had come up in arms against the Parthians and occupied their territory, then Arsaces[1] would act with moderation, would take pity on the old age of Crassus, and release to the Romans the men whom he had under watch and ward rather than watching over him. To this Crassus boastfully replied that he would give his answer in Seleucia, whereupon the eldest of the envoys, Vagises, burst out laughing and said, pointing to the palm of his upturned hand: "O Crassus, hair will grow there before thou shalt see Seleucia." [2]

The embassy, accordingly, rode away to King Hyrodes, to tell him there must be war. But from the cities of Mesopotamia in which the Romans had garrisons, certain men made their escape at great hazard and brought tidings of serious import. They had been eyewitnesses both of the numbers of the enemy and of their mode of warfare when they attacked their cities, and, as is usual, they exaggerated all the terrors of their report. "When the men pursued," they declared, "there was no escaping them, and when they fled, there was no taking them; and strange missiles are the precursors of their appearance, which pierce through every obstacle before one sees who sent them; and as for the armour of their mail-clad horsemen, some of it is made to force its way through everything, and some

[1] In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.
[2] Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 16.

4 ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀκουόντων τὸ θράσος ὑπέπιπτεν. πεπεισμένοι γὰρ οὐδὲν Ἀρμενίων διαφέρειν Πάρθους οὐδὲ Καππαδοκῶν, οὓς ἄγων καὶ φέρων Λούκουλλος ἀπεῖπε, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἡγούμενοι μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἔσεσθαι καὶ δίωξιν ἀνθρώπων εἰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀφιξομένων, παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀγῶνα καὶ κίνδυνον μέγαν προσεδόκων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τινὰς οἴεσθαι δεῖν ἐπισχόντα τὸν Κράσσον αὖθις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων γνώμην προθέσθαι. τούτων ἦν Κάσσιος ὁ ταμίας.
5 ἡσυχῇ δὲ παρεδήλουν καὶ οἱ μάντεις ὡς ἀεὶ πονηρὰ σημεῖα καὶ δυσέκθυτα προφαίνοιτο τῷ Κράσσῳ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἀλλ' οὔτε τούτοις προσεῖχεν οὔτε τοῖς ἕτερόν τι πλὴν ἐπείγεσθαι παραινοῦσιν.

XIX. Οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' αὐτὸν Ἀρταβάζης ὁ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς ἐπέρρωσεν· ἦλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον μεθ' ἑξακισχιλίων ἱππέων. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλέγοντο φύλακες καὶ προπομποὶ βασιλέως· ἑτέρους δὲ μυρίους ὑπισχνεῖτο καταφράκτους καὶ τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς οἰκοσίτους.
2 ἔπειθε δὲ Κράσσον ἐμβαλεῖν δι' Ἀρμενίας εἰς τὴν Παρθίαν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάξειν τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ παρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πορεύσεσθαι δι' ἀσφαλείας, ὄρη πολλὰ καὶ λόφους συνεχεῖς καὶ χωρία δύσιππα πρὸς τὴν ἵππον, ἧ

of it to give way to nothing." When the soldiers heard this, their courage ebbed away. For they had been fully persuaded that the Parthians were not different at all from the Armenians or even the Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had robbed and plundered till he was weary of it, and they had thought that the most difficult part of the war would be the long journey and the pursuit of men who would not come to close quarters; but now, contrary to their hopes, they were led to expect a struggle and great peril. Therefore some of the officers thought that Crassus ought to call a halt and reconsider the whole undertaking. Among these was Cassius,[1] the quaestor. The seers, also, quietly let it become known that the omens for Crassus which came from their sacrifices were always bad and inauspicious. But Crassus paid no heed to them, nor to those who advised anything else except to press forward.

XIX. And most of all, Artabazes the king of Armenia gave him courage, for he came to his camp with six thousand horsemen. These were said to be the king's guards and couriers; but he promised ten thousand mail-clad horsemen besides, and thirty thousand footmen, to be maintained at his own cost. And he tried to persuade Crassus to invade Parthia by way of Armenia, for thus he would not only lead his forces along in the midst of plenty, which the king himself would provide, but would also proceed with safety, confronting the cavalry of the Parthians, in which lay their sole strength, with many mountains, and continuous crests, and regions where the horse

[1] Gaius Cassius Longinus, afterwards one of the assassins of Caesar.

μόνη Πάρθων ἀλκή, προβαλλόμενον. ὁ δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς βοηθείας μετρίως ἠγάπησε, βαδιεῖσθαι δ' ἔφη διὰ Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρμένιος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπήλαυνεν.

Τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ διαβιβάζοντι τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ τὸ Ζεῦγμα πολλαὶ μὲν ὑπερφυεῖς βρονταὶ περιερρήγνυντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἤστραπτεν[1] ἐναντία τῷ στρατῷ, πνεῦμα δὲ νέφει καὶ πρηστῆρι μεμιγμένον ἐρεῖσαν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς σχεδίας ἀνέρρηξέ πολλὰ καὶ συνέτριψεν· ἐβλήθη δὲ καὶ κεραυνοῖς δυσὶν ὁ χῶρος οὗ στρατοπεδεύειν ἔμελλεν. ἵππος δὲ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἐπιφανῶς κεκοσμημένος βίᾳ συνεπισπάσας τὸν ἡνίοχον εἰς τὸ ῥεῖθρον ὑποβρύχιος ἠφανίσθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀετῶν ὁ πρῶτος ἀρθεὶς ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου μεταστραφῆναι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συνέπεσε μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν μετρουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πρῶτα πάντων δοθῆναι φακοὺς καὶ ἅλας, ἃ νομίζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πένθιμα καὶ προτίθενται τοῖς νέκυσιν. αὐτοῦ τε Κράσσου δημηγοροῦντος ἐξέπεσε φωνὴ δεινῶς συγχέασα τὸν στρατόν. ἔφη γὰρ τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαλύειν ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπανέλθῃ. καὶ δέον, ὡς ἤσθετο τοῦ ῥήματος τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διασαφῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδειλιῶντας τὸ εἰρημένον, ἠμέλησεν ὑπὸ αὐθαδείας. τέλος δὲ τὸν εἰθισμένον καθαρμὸν ἐσφαγιά-

[1] καὶ ἤστραπτεν MSS., Coraes, and Bekker: κατήστραπτεν with Pseudo-Appian.

could not well serve. Crassus was tolerably well pleased with the king's zeal and with the splendid reinforcements which he offered, but said he should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left many brave Romans. Upon this, the Armenian rode away.

Now, as Crassus was taking his army across the Euphrates at Zeugma,[1] many extraordinary peals of thunder crashed about them, and many flashes of lightning also darted in their faces, and a wind, half mist and half hurricane, fell upon their raft, breaking it up and shattering it in many places. The place where he was intending to encamp was also smitten by two thunderbolts. And one of the general's horses, richly caparisoned, violently dragged its groom along with it into the river and disappeared beneath the waves. It is said also that the first eagle which was raised aloft, faced about of its own accord.[2] Besides all this, it happened that when their rations were distributed to the soldiers after the crossing of the river, lentils and salt came first, which are held by the Romans to be tokens of mourning, and are set out as offerings to the dead. Moreover, Crassus himself, while haranguing his men, let fall a phrase which terribly confounded them. He said, namely, that he should destroy the bridge over the river, that not one of them might return. And although he ought, as soon as he perceived the strangeness of his expression, to have recalled it and made his meaning clear to his timorous hearers, he was too obstinate to do so. And finally, when he

[1] A town in Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates, deriving its name from a bridge of boats there made across the river. [2] Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 18.

ζετο, καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ μάντεως αὐτῷ προσδόντος ἐξέβαλε τῶν χειρῶν· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα δυσχεραίνοντας ἰδὼν τοὺς παρόντας ἐμειδίασε καὶ "Τοιοῦτον," ἔφη, "τὸ γῆρας· ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ὅπλων οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκφύγοι τὰς χεῖρας."

XX. Ἐκ τούτου παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξήλαυνεν ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔχων ὁπλιτῶν τάγματα καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας ἱππεῖς, ψιλοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι παραπλησίους. τῶν δὲ προδρόμων τινὲς ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς ἐπανελθόντες ἤγγελλον ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἔρημον εἶναι τὴν χώραν, ἵππων δ' ἐντετυχηκέναι πολλῶν ἴχνεσιν οἷον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὀπίσω διωκομένων. ὅθεν αὐτός τε Κράσσος ἔτι μᾶλλον εὔελπις ἦν, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παντάπασι τῶν Πάρθων παρέστη καταφρονεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀφιξομένων
2 εἰς χεῖρας. ὅμως δ' οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον αὖθις διελέγοντο τῷ Κράσσῳ, καὶ παρῄνουν μάλιστα μὲν ἐν πόλει τινὶ τῶν φρουρουμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ἄχρι οὗ τι πύθηται περὶ τῶν πολεμίων βέβαιον, εἰ δὲ μή, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Σελευκείας παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν· εὐπορίαν γὰρ τὰ σιτηγὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς παρέξειν ἅμα συγκαταίροντα πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φύλακα τοῦ μὴ κυκλωθῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντας ἀπ' ἴσης ἀεὶ πρὸς ἐναντίους μαχεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους.

XXI. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κράσσου διασκοποῦντος ἔτι καὶ βουλευομένου παραγίνεται φύλαρχος Ἀράβων, Ἀριάμνης ὄνομα, δολερὸς καὶ παλίμβολος ἀνὴρ καὶ πάντων ὅσα συνήνεγκεν εἰς ὄλεθρον ἡ τύχη κακά, μέγιστον αὐτοῖς καὶ τελειότατον

was making the customary sacrifice of purification for the army, and the seer placed the viscera in his hands, he let them fall to the ground; then, seeing that the bystanders were beyond measure distressed at the occurrence, he smiled and said: "Such is old age; but no weapon, you may be sure, shall fall from its hands."

XX. After this, he marched along the river with seven legions of men-at-arms, nearly four thousand horsemen, and about as many light-armed troops. Some of his scouts now came back from their explorations, and reported that the country was destitute of men, but that they had come upon the tracks of many horses which had apparently wheeled about and fled from pursuit. Wherefore Crassus himself was all the more confident, and his soldiers went so far as to despise the Parthians utterly, believing that they would not come to close quarters. But, nevertheless, Cassius once more had a conference with Crassus, and advised him above all things to recuperate his forces in one of the garrisoned cities, until he should get some sure information about the enemy; but if not this, then to advance against Seleucia along the river. For in this way the transports would keep them abundantly supplied with provisions by putting in at their successive encampments, and, by having the river to prevent their being surrounded, they would always fight their enemies on even terms and face to face.

XXI. While Crassus was still investigating and considering these matters, there came an Arab chieftain, Ariamnes by name, a crafty and treacherous man, and one who proved to be, of all the mischiefs which fortune combined for the destruction of the

2 γενόμενον τοῦτον δ' ἤδεσαν ἔνιοι τῶν Πομπηίῳ
συνεστρατευμένων ἀπολαύσαντά τι τῆς ἐκείνου
φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δόξαντα φιλορρώμαιον εἶναι·
τότε δ' ὑφεῖτο τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ γνώμης τῶν
βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, εἰ δύναιτο παρατρέψας
αὐτὸν ἀπωτάτω τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπωρειῶν
εἰς πεδίον ἐκβαλεῖν ἀχανὲς καὶ περιελαυνόμενον.
πάντα γὰρ διενοοῦντο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ στόμα
3 προσφέρεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν
Κράσσον ὁ Βάρβαρος (ἦν δὲ καὶ πιθανὸς εἰπεῖν)
Πομπήϊον μὲν ὡς εὐεργέτην ἐπῄνει, Κράσσον
δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μακαρίσας ἐμέμφετο τῆς διατριβῆς μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον, ὥσπερ
ὅπλων αὐτῷ δεῆσον, οὐ χειρῶν οὐδὲ ποδῶν τῶν
ταχίστων ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους οἳ πάλαι ζητοῦσιν ἁρπάσαντες τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων
4 εἰς Σκύθας ἢ Ὑρκανοὺς ἀναπτέσθαι. "Καίτοι
μάχεσθαι μέλλοντας," ἔφη, "σπεύδειν ἔδει, πρὶν
ἅπασαν ἐν ταὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἀναθαρσήσαντος βασιλέως· ἐπεὶ νῦν γε Σουρήνας ὑμῖν
προβέβληται καὶ Σιλλάκης ἐφ' αὑτοὺς ἀναδεξάμενοι τὴν δίωξιν, ὁ δ' οὐδαμῇ φανερός ἐστιν."
5 Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ψευδῆ πάντα. διχῇ γὰρ εὐθὺς
Ὑρώδης διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀρμενίαν
ἐπόρθει τιννύμενος Ἀρταουάσδην, Σουρήναν δ'
ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, οὐχ ὑπερφροσύνῃ χρώμενος, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
Κράσσον μὲν ἀπαξιοῦν ἀνταγωνιστήν, ἄνδρα

Romans, the greatest and most consummate. Some of the soldiers who had served under Pompey in these parts knew that the fellow had profited by the kindness of that commander and was thought to be a friend of Rome; but now, with the knowledge of the royal generals, he tried to work his way into the confidence of Crassus, to see if he could turn him aside as far as possible from the river and the foothills, and bring him down into a boundless plain where he could be surrounded. For nothing was farther from the thoughts of the Parthians than to attack the Romans in front. Accordingly, coming to Crassus, the Barbarian (and he was a plausible talker, too) lauded Pompey as his benefactor, and complimented Crassus on his forces. But then he criticised him for wasting time in delays and preparations, as if it was arms that he needed, and not hands and the swiftest of feet to follow after men who had for some time been trying to snatch up their most valuable goods and slaves and fly with them into Scythia or Hyrcania. "And yet," said he, "if you intend to fight, you ought to hasten on before all the king's forces are concentrated and he has regained his courage; since, for the time being, Surena and Sillaces have been thrown forward to sustain your pursuit, but the king is nowhere to be seen."

Now this was all false. For Hyrodes had promptly divided his forces into two parts and was himself devastating Armenia to punish Artavasdes, while he despatched Surena to meet the Romans. And this was not because he despised them, as some say, for he could not consistently disdain Crassus as an antagonist, a man who was foremost of the

Ῥωμαίων πρῶτον, Ἀρταουάσδῃ δὲ προσπολεμεῖν 556
καὶ ταῖς Ἀρμενίων ἐπιόντα κώμαις ἐξαιρεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ καταδείσας τὸν κίνδυνον
αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ καραδοκεῖν τὸ μέλλον,
Σουρήναν δὲ προκαθεῖναι πειρασόμενον μάχης καὶ
6 περιέλξοντα τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῶν
τυχόντων ὁ Σουρήνας, ἀλλὰ πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ
γένει καὶ δόξῃ μετὰ βασιλέα δεύτερος, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ
καὶ δεινότητι τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν Πάρθοις πρῶτος,
ἔτι δὲ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει σώματος ὡς οὐδεὶς
ἕτερος. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ χιλίαις
σκευοφορούμενος καμήλοις, καὶ διακοσίας ἀπήνας
ἐπήγετο παλλακίδων, ἱππεῖς δὲ κατάφρακτοι
χίλιοι, πλείονες δὲ τῶν κούφων παρέπεμπον,
εἶχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἱππεῖς ὁμοῦ πελάτας τε
7 καὶ δούλους μυρίων οὐκ ἀποδέοντας. κατὰ γένος
μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκέκτητο βασιλεῖ γενομένῳ
Πάρθων ἐπιτιθέναι τὸ διάδημα πρῶτος, Τρώδην
δὲ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένον εἰς Πάρθους κατή-
γαγε, καὶ Σελεύκειαν αὐτῷ τὴν μεγάλην εἷλε
πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τρεψάμενος ἰδίᾳ
χειρὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας. οὕτω δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτη
τριάκοντα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον εὐβουλίας
καὶ συνέσεως δόξαν εἶχε μεγίστην, οἷς οὐχ
ἥκιστα καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἔσφηλε, διὰ θάρσος καὶ
φρόνημα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὑπὸ δέους καὶ συμφορῶν
ταῖς ἀπάταις εὐχείρωτον γενόμενον.

XXII. Τότ' οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, ὡς ἔπεισεν αὐτόν,

Romans, and wage war on Artavasdes, attacking and taking the villages of Armenia; on the contrary, it seems that he was in great fear of the danger which threatened, and therefore held himself in reserve and watched closely the coming event, while he sent Surena forward to make trial of the enemy in battle and to distract them. Nor was Surena an ordinary man at all, but in wealth, birth, and consideration, he stood next the king, while in valour and ability he was the foremost Parthian of his time, besides having no equal in stature and personal beauty. He used to travel on private business with a baggage train of a thousand camels, and was followed by two hundred waggons for his concubines, while a thousand mail-clad horsemen and a still greater number of light-armed cavalry served as his escort; and he had altogether, as horsemen, vassals, and slaves, no fewer than ten thousand men. Moreover, he enjoyed the ancient and hereditary privilege of being first to set the crown upon the head of the Parthian king; and when this very Hyrodes was driven out of Parthia, he restored him to his throne, and captured for him Seleucia the Great,[1] having been the first to mount its walls, and having routed with his own hand his opponents. And though at this time he was not yet thirty years of age, he had the highest reputation for prudence and sagacity, and it was especially by means of these qualities that he also brought Crassus to ruin, who, at first by reason of his boldness and conceit, and then in consequence of his fears and calamities, was an easy victim of deceits.

XXII. At this time, accordingly, after the Bar-

[1] Seleucia on the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator.

ἀποσπάσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ μέσων ἦγε τῶν πεδίων ὁδὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ κούφην τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα μοχθηράν, ἄμμου βαθείας ὑποδεχομένης καὶ πεδίων ἀδένδρων καὶ ἀνύδρων καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῆ πέρας ἐφικτὸν αἰσθήσει παυομένων, ὥστε μὴ μόνον δίψει καὶ χαλεπότητι τῆς πορείας
2 ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἀπαραμύθητον ἀθυμίαν παρέχειν οὐ φυτὸν ὁρῶσιν, οὐ ῥεῖθρον, οὐ προβολὴν ὄρους καθιέντος, οὐ πόαν διαβλαστάνουσαν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς πελάγιόν τι χεῦμα θινῶν τινων ἐρήμων περιεχόντων τὸν στρατόν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁ δόλος ὕποπτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀρταουάσδου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου παρῆσαν ἄγγελοι φράζοντες ὡς πολλῷ συνέχοιτο πολέμῳ ῥυέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Τρώδου, καὶ πέμπειν
3 μὲν ἐκείνῳ βοήθειαν οὐ δύναται, παραινεῖ δὲ Κράσσῳ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκεῖ τραπέσθαι καὶ γενόμενον μετ' Ἀρμενίων ὁμοῦ διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Τρώδην, εἰ δὲ μή, πορεύεσθαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύειν ἀεὶ τὰ ἱππάσιμα φεύγοντα καὶ προσχωροῦντα τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς, Κράσσος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντιγράψας ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ σκαιότητος ἀπεκρίνατο νῦν μὲν Ἀρμενίοις μὴ σχολάζειν, αὖθις δ' ἀφίξεσθαι δίκην ἐπιθήσων Ἀρταουάσδῃ τῆς προδοσίας.

4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάσσιον αὖθις ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ Κράσσον μὲν ἀχθόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐπαύσαντο νουθετοῦντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐλοιδόρουν· "Τίς σε δαίμων πονηρός, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων, ἤγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς; τίσι δὲ φαρμάκοις καὶ γοητείαις ἔπεισας Κράσσον εἰς ἐρημίαν ἀχανῆ καὶ βύθιον ἐκχέαντα τὴν στρατιὰν ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν Νομάδι λῃ-

barian had persuaded Crassus, he drew him away from the river and led him through the midst of the plains, by a way that was suitable and easy at first, but soon became troublesome when deep sand succeeded, and plains which had no trees, no water, and no limit anywhere which the eye could reach, so that not only did thirst and the difficulties of the march exhaust the men, but also whatever met their gaze filled them with an obstinate dejection. For they saw no plant, no stream, no projection of sloping hill, and no growing grass, but only sea-like billows of innumerable desert sand-heaps enveloping the army. This of itself was enough to induce suspicion of treachery, and soon messengers came from Artavasdes the Armenian declaring that he was involved in a great war with Hyrodes, who had attacked him with an overwhelming force, and could not therefore send Crassus aid, but advised him above all things to turn his course thither, join the Armenians, and fight the issue out with Hyrodes; but if not this, then to march and encamp always where mountains were near and cavalry could not operate. Crassus sent no reply in writing, but answered at once in rage and perversity that for the present he had no time to waste on the Armenians, but that at another time he would come and punish Artavasdes for his treachery.

But Cassius was once more greatly displeased, and though he stopped advising Crassus, who was angry with him, he did privately abuse the Barbarian. "Basest of men," he said, "what evil spirit brought you to us? With what drugs and jugglery did you persuade Crassus to pour his army into a yawning and abysmal desert and follow a route more fit for

στάρχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι προσ-
5 ήκουσαν;" ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ἀνὴρ ὢν ποικίλος
ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποπίπτων ἐθάρρυνε καὶ παρεκάλει
μικρὸν ἔτι καρτερῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἅμα
συμπαραθέων καὶ παραβοηθῶν ἐπέσκωπτε μετὰ
γέλωτος· "Τμεῖς δὲ διὰ Καμπανίας ὁδεύειν
οἴεσθε κρήνας καὶ νάματα καὶ σκιὰς καὶ λουτρὰ
δηλαδὴ καὶ πανδοκεῖα ποθοῦντες; οὐ μέμνησθε
δὲ τὴν Ἀράβων διεξιόντες καὶ Ἀσσυρίων μεθο-
6 ρίαν;" οὕτω μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος διεπαιδαγώγησε
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι φανερὸς
ἐξαπατῶν ἀφίππευσεν, οὐ λαθὼν τὸν Κράσσον, 55
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πείσας, ὡς ὑπεργάσεται καὶ
διαταράξει τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

XXIII. Λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τὸν
Κράσσον οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατη-
γοῖς ἐν φοινικίδι προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἱματίῳ
μέλανι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀλλάξαι προνοή-
σαντα, τῶν δὲ σημαιῶν ἐνίας μόλις ὥσπερ πεπη-
γυίας πολλὰ παθόντας ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς φέροντας.
2 ὧν ὁ Κράσσος καταγελῶν ἐπετάχυνε τὴν πορείαν,
προσβιαζόμενος ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς
ἱππεῦσι, πρίν γε δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἀπο-
σταλέντων ὀλίγοι προσπελάσαντες ἀπήγγειλαν
ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων,
αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιέναι δὲ μαχουμένους
3 πλήθει πολλῷ καὶ θάρσει τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἅπαντες
μὲν οὖν ἐθορυβήθησαν, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐξεπλάγη
παντάπασι καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς οὐ πάνυ καθεστηκὼς

a robber chief of Nomads than for a Roman imperator?" But the Barbarian, who was a subtle fellow, tried to encourage them with all servility, and exhorted them to endure yet a little while, and as he ran along by the side of the soldiers and gave them his help, he would laughingly banter them and say: "Is it through Campania that you think you are marching, yearning for its fountains and streams and shades and baths (to be sure!) and taverns? But remember that you are traversing the border land between Assyria and Arabia." Thus the Barbarian played the tutor with the Romans, and rode away before his deceit had become manifest, not, however, without the knowledge of Crassus, nay, he actually persuaded him that he was going to work in his interests and confound the counsels of his enemies.

XXIII. It is said that on that day Crassus did not make his appearance in a purple robe, as is the custom with Roman generals, but in a black one, and that he changed it as soon as he noticed his mistake; also that some of the standard-bearers had great difficulty in raising their standards, which seemed to be imbedded, as it were, in the earth. Crassus made light of these things and hurried on the march, compelling the men-at-arms to keep up with the cavalry, until a few of those who had been sent out as scouts came riding up and announced that the rest of their number had been slain by the enemy, that they themselves had with difficulty escaped, and that their foes were coming up to fight them with a large force and great confidence. All were greatly disturbed, of course, but Crassus was altogether frightened out of his senses, and began to draw up his forces in haste and with no great consistency.

παρέταττε, πρῶτον μέν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον ἠξίουν, ἀραιὰν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνάγων τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς διανέμων τοῖς κέρασιν· ἔπειτα μετέδοξε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ἀμφίστομον ἐποίησε καὶ βαθὺ πλινθίον ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προερχομένης τῶν πλευρῶν
4 ἑκάστης. παρὰ δὲ σπεῖραν ἴλην ἱππέων ἔταξεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοι μέρος ἐνδεὲς ἱππικῆς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ὁμαλῶς προσφέροιτο πεφραγμένος. τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν Κασσίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῷ νέῳ Κράσσῳ παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δ' εἰς μέσον κατέστη.

Καὶ προάγοντες οὕτως ἐπὶ ῥεῖθρον ἦλθον ὃ καλεῖται Βάλισσος, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἄφθονον, ἀσμένοις δὲ τότε τοῖς στρατιώταις φανὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ καὶ καύματι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην
5 ἐπίπονον καὶ ἄνυδρον πορείαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐνταῦθα καταυλισαμένους καὶ νυκτερεύσαντας καὶ πυθομένους, ἐφ' ὅσον οἷόν τε, πλῆθος καὶ τάξιν τῶν πολεμίων, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς· Κράσσος δὲ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσιν ἐγκελευομένοις ἄγειν καὶ συνάπτειν ἐπαρθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν ἑστῶτας ἐν τάξει φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους.
6 καὶ πρὶν ἢ τοῦτο διὰ πάντων γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἦγεν οὐ σχέδην οὐδ' ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην διαναπαύων, ἀλλ' ὀξείᾳ καὶ συντόνῳ χρώμενος τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι οὗ κατώφθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, παρὰ δόξαν οὔτε πολλοὶ φανέντες οὔτε σοβαροὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος ὑπέστειλε τοῖς προ-

At first, as Cassius recommended, he extended the line of his men-at-arms as far as possible along the plain, with little depth, to prevent the enemy from surrounding them, and divided all his cavalry between the two wings. Then he changed his mind and concentrated his men, forming them in a hollow square of four fronts, with twelve cohorts on each side. With each cohort he placed a squadron of horse, that no part of the line might lack cavalry support, but that the whole body might advance to the attack with equal protection everywhere. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, and one to the young Crassus, and took his own position in the centre.

Advancing in this formation, they came to a stream called Balissus, which was not large, to be sure, nor plentiful, but by this time the soldiers were delighted to see it in the midst of the drought and heat and after their previous toilsome march without water. Most of the officers, accordingly, thought they ought to bivouac and spend the night there, and after learning as much as they could of the number and disposition of the enemy, to advance against them at day-break. But Crassus was carried away by the eagerness of his son and the cavalry with him, who urged him to advance and give battle, and he therefore ordered that the men who needed it should eat and drink as they stood in the ranks. And before they were all well done with this, he led them on, not slowly, nor halting from time to time, as is usual on the way to battle, but with a quick and sustained pace until the enemy came in sight, who, to the surprise of the Romans, appeared to be neither numerous nor formidable. For Surena had

τάκτοις Σουρήνας, τὴν δὲ λαμπρότητα κατέκρυβε τῶν ὅπλων ἱμάτια καὶ διφθέρας προϊσχεσθαι κελεύσας. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ σημεῖον ἤρθη παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίμπλαντο φθογγῆς βαρείας καὶ βρόμου φρικώδους
7 τὸ πεδίον. Πάρθοι γὰρ οὐ κέρασιν οὐδὲ σάλπιγξιν ἐποτρύνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς μάχην, ἀλλὰ ῥόπτρα βυρσοπαγῆ καὶ κοῖλα περιτείναντες ἠχείοις χαλκοῖς ἅμα πολλαχόθεν ἐπιδουποῦσι, τὰ δὲ φθέγγεται βύθιόν τι καὶ δεινόν, ὠρυγῇ θηριώδει καὶ τραχύτητι βροντῆς μεμιγμένον, εὖ πως συνεωρακότες ὅτι τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀκοὴ ταρακτικώτατόν ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην πάθη τάχιστα κινεῖ καὶ μάλιστα ἐξίστησι τὴν διάνοιαν.

XXIV. Ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸν ἦχον, ἐξαίφνης τὰ προκαλύμματα τῶν ὅπλων καταβαλόντες ὤφθησαν αὐτοί τε φλογοειδεῖς κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι, τοῦ Μαργιανοῦ σιδήρου στίλβοντος ὀξὺ καὶ περιλαμπές, οἵ θ' ἵπποι καταπεφραγμένοι χαλκοῖς καὶ σιδηροῖς σκεπά-
2 σμασιν, ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος αὐτός, τῇ δὲ κατ' ἀνδρείαν δόξῃ τὴν θηλύτητα τοῦ κάλλους οὐκ ἐοικώς, ἀλλὰ Μηδικώτερον ἐσκευασμένος ἐντρίμμασι προσώπου καὶ κόμης διακρίσει, τῶν ἄλλων Πάρθων ἔτι Σκυθικῶς ἐπὶ
3 τὸ φοβερὸν τῷ ἀνασίλλῳ[1] κομώντων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διενοοῦντο τοῖς κοντοῖς εἰσελαύνοντες ὠθεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς προτάκτους· ὡς δ' ἑώρων τό

[1] τῷ ἀνασίλλῳ the correction of Schaefer (ἀνασίλλῳ Coraïs) : τῶν ἀνασίλλων.

veiled his main force behind his advance guard, and concealed the gleam of their armour by ordering them to cover themselves with robes and skins. But when they were near the Romans and the signal was raised by their commander, first of all they filled the plain with the sound of a deep and terrifying roar. For the Parthians do not incite themselves to battle with horns or trumpets, but they have hollow drums of distended hide, covered with bronze bells, and on these they beat all at once in many quarters, and the instruments give forth a low and dismal tone, a blend of wild beast's roar and harsh thunder peal. They had rightly judged that, of all the senses, hearing is the one most apt to confound the soul, soonest rouses its emotions, and most effectively unseats the judgment.

XXIV. While the Romans were in consternation at this din, suddenly their enemies dropped the coverings of their armour, and were seen to be themselves blazing in helmets and breastplates, their Margianian steel glittering keen and bright, and their horses clad in plates of bronze and steel. Surena himself, however, was the tallest and fairest of them all, although his effeminate beauty did not well correspond to his reputation for valour, but he was dressed more in the Median fashion, with painted face and parted hair, while the rest of the Parthians still wore their hair long and bunched over their foreheads, in Scythian fashion, to make themselves look formidable. And at first they purposed to charge upon the Romans with their long spears, and throw their front ranks into confusion; but when they saw the depth of their formation, where shield

τε βάθος τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ μόνιμον καὶ παρεστηκός, ἀνῆγον ὀπίσω καὶ σκίδνασθαι δοκοῦντες ἅμα καὶ διαλύειν τὴν τάξιν ἐλάνθανον ἐν κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες τὸ πλινθίον
4 αὐτῶν. Κράσσου δὲ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐκδραμεῖν κελεύσαντος, οὗτοι μὲν οὐ πολὺ προῆλθον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τοξεύμασιν ἐντυχόντες ταχὺ καὶ συμπαρέντες αὖθις ἐνεδύοντο τοῖς ὁπλίταις, καὶ παρεῖχον ἀκοσμίας ἀρχὴν καὶ δέους, ὁρῶσι τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀιστῶν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην ὅπλα τε ῥηγνύντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς φερομένων ὁμοίως ἀντιτύπου καὶ μαλακοῦ στεγάσματος.
5 Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαστάντες ἐκ μήκους ἤρξαντο τοξεύειν ἅμα πανταχόθεν, οὐ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τοξείαν (ἡ γὰρ συνέχεια καὶ πυκνότης τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ διαμαρτάνειν ἀνδρὸς παρεῖχεν), εὐτόνους δὲ τὰς πληγὰς καὶ βιαίους διδόντες ἀπὸ τόξων κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ τῇ σκολιότητι τῆς καμπῆς ἠναγκασμένον τὸ βέλος ἀποστελλόν-
6 των. ἦν οὖν αὐτόθεν ἤδη μοχθηρὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ γὰρ μένοντες ἐν τάξει συνετιτρώσκοντο, καὶ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε πειρώμενοι τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν ἴσον ἀπεῖχον, ὁμοίως δ' ἔπασχον. ὑπέφευγον γὰρ ἅμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι, καὶ τοῦτο κράτιστα ποιοῦσι μετὰ Σκύθας· καὶ σοφώτατόν ἐστιν ἀμυνομένους ἔτι σώζεσθαι καὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ αἰσχρόν.

XXV. Ἄχρι μὲν οὖν ἤλπιζον αὐτοὺς ἐκχεαμένους τὰ βέλη σχήσεσθαι μάχης ἢ συνάψειν εἰς χεῖρας, ἐκαρτέρουν· ὡς δ' ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πολλαὶ

was locked with shield, and the firmness and composure of the men, they drew back, and while seeming to break their ranks and disperse, they surrounded the hollow square in which their enemy stood before he was aware of the manœuvre. And when Crassus ordered his light-armed troops to make a charge, they did not advance far, but encountering a multitude of arrows, abandoned their undertaking and ran back for shelter among the men-at-arms, among whom they caused the beginning of disorder and fear, for these now saw the velocity and force of the arrows, which fractured armour, and tore their way through every covering alike, whether hard or soft.

But the Parthians now stood at long intervals from one another and began to shoot their arrows from all sides at once, not with any accurate aim (for the dense formation of the Romans would not suffer an archer to miss his man even if he wished it), but making vigorous and powerful shots from bows which were large and mighty and curved so as to discharge their missiles with great force. At once, then, the plight of the Romans was a grievous one; for if they kept their ranks, they were wounded in great numbers, and if they tried to come to close quarters with the enemy, they were just as far from effecting anything and suffered just as much. For the Parthians shot as they fled, and next to the Scythians, they do this most effectively; and it is a very clever thing to seek safety while still fighting, and to take away the shame of flight.

XXV. Now as long as they had hopes that the enemy would exhaust their missiles and desist from battle or fight at close quarters, the Romans held

κάμηλοι παρεστῶσι τοξευμάτων πλήρεις, ἀφ' ὧν περιελαύνοντες οἱ πρῶτοι λαμβάνουσιν, οὐδὲν πέρας ὁρῶν ὁ Κράσσος ἠθύμει, καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἀγγέλους πέμψας πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ὅπως προσμῖξαι βιάσεται τοῖς ἐναντίοις πρὶν ἢ κυκλωθῆναι. μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ προσέπιπτον καὶ περιΐππευον τὸ κέρας ὡς κατὰ νώτου γενησόμενοι.
2 λαβὼν οὖν ὁ νεανίας ἱππεῖς τε χιλίους τριακοσίους, ὧν οἱ χίλιοι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ τῶν ἔγγιστα θυρεοφόρων ὀκτὼ σπείρας συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐμβολήν. τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οἱ περιελαύνοντες, εἴτε τέλμασιν ἐντυχόντες, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν, εἴτε λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπωτάτω τοῦ πατρὸς στρατηγοῦντες,
3 ὀπίσω στρέψαντες ἐδίωκον. ὁ δὲ βοήσας ὡς οὐ μένουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἤλαυνε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κηνσωρῖνός τε καὶ Μεγάβακχος, ὁ μὲν εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέρων, Κηνσωρῖνος δὲ βουλευτικὸν ἔχων ἀξίωμα καὶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν, ἑταῖροι δὲ Κράσσου καὶ παραπλήσιοι καθ' ἡλικίαν. ἐπισπομένων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων οὐδὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπελείπετο προθυμίᾳ καὶ χαρᾷ τῆς ἐλπίδος· νικᾶν γὰρ ᾤοντο καὶ διώκειν, ἄχρι οὗ πολὺ προελθόντες ἤσθοντο τὴν ἀπάτην, μεταβαλλομένων ἅμα τῶν φεύγειν δοκούντων καὶ
4 πλειόνων ἄλλων ἐπιφερομένων. ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν, οἰόμενοι συνιέναι αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ὀλίγοις οὖσι

out; but when they perceived that many camels laden with arrows were at hand, from which the Parthians who first encircled them took a fresh supply, then Crassus, seeing no end to this, began to lose heart, and sent messengers to his son with orders to force an engagement with the enemy before he was surrounded; for it was his wing especially which the enemy were attacking and surrounding with their cavalry, in the hope of getting in his rear. Accordingly, the young man took thirteen hundred horsemen, of whom a thousand had come from Caesar, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of the men-at-arms who were nearest him, and led them all to the charge. But the Parthians who were trying to envelop him, either because, as some say, they encountered marshes, or because they were manœuvring to attack Publius as far as possible from his father, wheeled about and made off. Then Publius, shouting that the men did not stand their ground, rode after them, and with him Censorinus and Megabacchus, the latter distinguished for his courage and strength, Censorinus a man of senatorial dignity and a powerful speaker, and both of them comrades of Publius and nearly of the same age. The cavalry followed after Publius, and even the infantry kept pace with them in the zeal and joy which their hopes inspired; for they thought they were victorious and in pursuit of the enemy, until, after they had gone forward a long distance, they perceived the ruse. For the seeming fugitives wheeled about and were joined at the same time by others more numerous still. Then the Romans halted, supposing that the enemy would come to close quarters with them,

τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ τοὺς καταφράκτους προτάξαντες ἐναντίους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἵππον ἄτακτον περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντες, καὶ συνταράττοντες τὸ πεδίον, ἀνίστασαν ἐκ βυθοῦ θῖνας ἄμμου κονιορτὸν ἐπαγούσας ἄπλετον, ὡς μήτε διορᾶν ῥᾳδίως μήτε φθέγγεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. εἱλουμένους δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ συμπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις βάλλεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν οὐ ῥᾴδιον οὐδ' ὀξὺν θάνατον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπασμοῦ καὶ ὀδύνης δυσανασχετοῦντας καὶ κυλινδουμένους περὶ τοῖς ὀϊστοῖς ἐναποθραύειν τοῖς τραύμασι, βίᾳ τε πειρωμένους ἐξέλκειν ἠγκιστρωμένας ἀκίδας καὶ δεδυκυίας διὰ φλεβῶν καὶ νεύρων προσαναρρηγνύναι καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι σφᾶς αὐτούς. 559

6 Οὕτω δὲ πολλῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἄπρακτοι καὶ οἱ ζῶντες ἦσαν πρὸς ἀλκήν· καὶ τοῦ Ποπλίου παρακαλοῦντος ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάφρακτον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἑαυτῶν χεῖράς τε θυρεοῖς συμπεπερονημένας καὶ πόδας διαμπὰξ προσεληλαμένους πρὸς τοὔδαφος, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν 7 ἀμηχάνους εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν. αὐτὸς οὖν τοὺς ἱππεῖς παρορμήσας προσέβαλε μὲν ἐρρωμένως καὶ συνῆψε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἦν δὲ ἄνισος ἔν τε ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ τῷ φυλάττεσθαι, παίων μὲν ἀσθενέσι καὶ μικροῖς δορατίοις θώρακας ὠμοβύρσους καὶ σιδηροῦς, παιόμενος δὲ κοντοῖς εἰς εὐσταλῆ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα τῶν Γαλατῶν· τούτοις γὰρ ἐθάρρει μάλιστα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔργα 8 θαυμαστὰ διεπράττετο. τῶν τε γὰρ κοντῶν ἐπελαμβάνοντο, καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας

since they were so few in number. But the Parthians stationed their mail-clad horsemen in front of the Romans, and then with the rest of their cavalry in loose array rode round them, tearing up the surface of the ground, and raising from the depths great heaps of sand which fell in limitless showers of dust, so that the Romans could neither see clearly nor speak plainly, but, being crowded into a narrow compass and falling one upon another, were shot, and died no easy nor even speedy death. For, in the agonies of convulsive pain, and writhing about the arrows, they would break them off in their wounds, and then in trying to pull out by force the barbed heads which had pierced their veins and sinews, they tore and disfigured themselves the more.

Thus many died, and the survivors also were incapacitated for fighting. And when Publius urged them to charge the enemy's mail clad horsemen, they showed him that their hands were riveted to their shields and their feet nailed through and through to the ground, so that they were helpless either for flight or for self defence. Publius himself, accordingly, cheered on his cavalry, made a vigorous charge with them, and closed with the enemy. But his struggle was an unequal one both offensively and defensively, for his thrusting was done with small and feeble spears against breastplates of raw hide and steel, whereas the thrusts of the enemy were made with pikes against the lightly equipped and unprotected bodies of the Gauls, since it was upon these that Publius chiefly relied, and with these he did indeed work wonders. For they laid hold of the long spears of the Parthians, and grappling with the men, pushed them from

ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐώθουν τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ ὁπλισμοῦ δυσκινήτους ὄντας, πολλοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες ἵππους καὶ ὑποδυόμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔτυπτον εἰς τὰς γαστέρας· οἱ δ' ἀνεσκίρτων ὑπ' ὀδύνης, καὶ συμπατοῦντες ἐν ταὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναπεφυρμένους ἀπέθνησκον.
9 ἐπίεζε δὲ τοὺς Γαλάτας μάλιστα τό τε θάλπος καὶ τὸ δίψος, ἀμφοτέρων ἀήθεις ὄντας· καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἀπολώλεισαν οἱ πλεῖστοι πρὸς ἐναντίους ἐλαυνόμενοι τοὺς κοντούς. ἐβιάσθησαν οὖν ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἔχοντες τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἤδη κακῶς διακείμενον. ἰδόντες δὲ θῖνα βουνώδη πλησίον ἐχώρουν ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐν μέσῳ κατέδησαν, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοῖς θυρεοῖς συγκλείσαντες ᾤοντο ῥᾷον ἀμυνεῖ-
10 σθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἀπέβαινε δὲ τοὐναντίον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὁμαλῷ τοῖς ὄπισθεν ἀμῶς γέ πως παρέχουσιν οἱ πρότακτοι ῥαστώνην, ἐκεῖ δ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ ἄλλον διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν ἀνέχοντος τοῦ χωρίου καὶ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ τὸν κατόπιν ἐξαίροντος, οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ διαφεῦγον, ἀλλ' ἐβάλλοντο πάντες ὁμαλῶς, ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀκλεῆ καὶ ἄπρακτον αὐτῶν τελευτήν.
11 Ἦσαν δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες δύο τῶν αὐτόθι κατοικούντων ἐν Κάρραις, Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Νικόμαχος, οἳ συνέπειθον αὐτὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ διαφεύγειν εἰς Ἴχνας, πόλιν ῥημένην τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ φήσας οὐδένα δεινὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ὃν φοβηθεὶς Πόπλιος ἀπολείψει τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους δι' αὐτόν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκέλευσε σώζεσθαι καὶ

their horses, hard as it was to move them owing to the weight of their armour; and many of the Gauls forsook their own horses, and crawling under those of the enemy, stabbed them in the belly. These would rear up in their anguish, and die trampling on riders and foemen indiscriminately mingled. But the Gauls were distressed above all things by the heat and their thirst, to both of which they were unused; and most of their horses had perished by being driven against the long spears. They were therefore compelled to retire upon the men at-arms, taking with them Publius, who was severely wounded. And seeing a sandy hillock near by, they all retired to it, and fastened their horses in the centre; then locking their shields together on the outside, they thought they could more easily defend themselves against the Barbarians. But it turned out just the other way. For on level ground, the front ranks do, to some extent, afford relief to those who are behind them. But here, where the inequality of the ground raised one man above another, and lifted every man who was behind another into greater prominence, there was no such thing as escape, but they were all alike hit with arrows, bewailing their inglorious and ineffectual death.

Now there were with Publius two Greeks, of those who dwelt near by in Carrhae, Hieronymus and Nicomachus. These joined in trying to persuade him to slip away with them and make their escape to Ichnae, a city which had espoused the Roman cause and was not far off. But Publius, declaring that no death could have such terrors for him as to make him desert those who were perishing on his account, ordered them to save their own lives, bade them farewell, and

δεξιωσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ χειρὶ χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος (διελήλατο γὰρ βέλει), τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν ἐκέλευσε πατάξαι τῷ ξίφει, παρα-
12 σχὼν τὸ πλευρόν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κηνσωρῖνον ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν· Μεγάβακχος δ' αὐτὸς αὑτὸν διεχρήσατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. τοὺς δ' ὑπολελειμμένους ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ Πάρθοι τοῖς κοντοῖς διήλαυνον μαχομένους· ζῶντας δ' οὐ πλείονας ἁλῶναί φασι πεντακοσίων. τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀποκόψαντες ἤλαυνον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Κράσσον.

XXVI. Εἶχε δὲ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν οὕτως. ὡς ἐκελευσε τὸν υἱὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς Πάρθοις καί τις ἤγγειλεν αὐτῷ μακρὰν τροπὴν εἶναι καὶ δίωξιν ἰσχυρὰν τῶν πολεμίων, ἑώρα δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν οὐκέτι προσκειμένους ὁμοίως (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐρρύησαν οἱ πλεῖστοι), μικρὸν ἀνεθάρρησε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ὑπέστειλεν ἐν χωρίοις προσάντεσι τὸν στρατόν, αὐτίκα προσδοκῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἐπανήξειν
2 ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως. τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποπλίου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκινδύνευεν, οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφθάρησαν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὕστεροι μόγις διαφυγόντες ἀπήγγελλον οἴχεσθαι τὸν Πόπλιον, εἰ μὴ ταχεῖα καὶ πολλὴ 560
3 βοήθεια παρ' ἐκείνου γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἅμα πολλὰ πάθη κατέσχε· καὶ λογισμῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἑώρα, φόβῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἅμα καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἑλκόμενος βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ βοηθεῖν, τέλος ὥρμησε προάγειν τὴν δύναμιν.

dismissed them. Then he himself, being unable to use his hand, which had been pierced through with an arrow, presented his side to his shield-bearer and ordered him to strike home with his sword. In like manner also Censorinus is said to have died; but Megabacchus took his own life, and so did the other most notable men. The survivors fought on until the Parthians mounted the hill and transfixed them with their long spears, and they say that not more than five hundred were taken alive. Then the Parthians cut off the head of Publius, and rode off at once to attack Crassus.

XXVI. His situation was as follows. After ordering his son to charge the Parthians and receiving tidings that the enemy were routed to a great distance and hotly pursued, and after noticing also that his own immediate opponents were no longer pressing him so hard (since most of them had streamed away to where Publius was), he recovered a little courage, and drawing his troops together, posted them for safety on sloping ground, in immediate expectation that his son would return from the pursuit. Of the messengers sent by Publius to his father, when he began to be in danger, the first fell in with the Barbarians and were slain; the next made their way through with difficulty and reported that Publius was lost unless he received speedy and abundant aid from his father. And now Crassus was a prey to many conflicting emotions, and no longer looked at anything with calm judgement. His fear for the whole army drove him to refuse, and at the same time his yearning love for his son impelled him to grant assistance; but at last he began to move his forces forward.

Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ πολέμιοι προσεφέροντο κλαγγῇ καὶ παιᾶνι φοβερώτεροι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τυμπάνων αὖθις περιεμυκᾶτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἑτέρας
4 μάχης ἀρχὴν προσδοκῶντας. οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ποπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπεπηγυῖαν ἐγγὺς προσελάσαντες ἀνέδειξαν, ὕβρει πυνθανόμενοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρέπειν γε Κράσσου πατρὸς ἀνανδροτάτου καὶ κακίστου γενναῖον οὕτω παῖδα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀρετῇ γενέσθαι. τοῦτο τὸ θέαμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα τἆλλα δεινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς κατέκλασε καὶ παρέλυσεν, οὐ θυμοῦ πρὸς ἄμυναν, ὥσπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἀλλὰ φρίκης καὶ τρόμου πᾶσιν ἐγγενομένου.
5 καίτοι τόν γε Κράσσον αὐτοῦ λαμπρότατον ἐν τῷ τότε πάθει φανῆναι λέγουσιν· ἐβόα γὰρ ἐπιὼν τὰς τάξεις· "Ἐμόν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦτο τὸ πένθος ἴδιόν ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ μεγάλη τύχη καὶ δόξα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν ὑμῖν ἕστηκε σωζομένοις ἄθραυστος καὶ ἀήττητος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ τις οἶκτος ἀφῃρημένου παῖδα πάντων ἄριστον, ἐπιδείξασθε τοῦτο ὀργῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀφέλεσθε τὴν χαρὰν αὐτῶν, τιμωρήσασθε τὴν ὠμότητα, μὴ καταπλαγῆτε τοῖς γεγενημένοις, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ παθεῖν μεγάλων ἐφιε-
6 μένους. οὐδὲ Λούκουλλος Τιγράνην ἀναιμωτὶ καθεῖλεν, οὐδὲ Σκηπίων Ἀντίοχον, χιλίας δὲ ναῦς οἱ παλαιοὶ περὶ Σικελίαν ἀπώλεσαν, ἐν δ' Ἰταλίᾳ πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγούς, ὧν οὐδεὶς προηττηθεὶς ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι τῶν νενικηκότων. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχίᾳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ

At this point, however, the enemy came up with clamour and battle cries which made them more fearful than ever, and again many of their drums began bellowing about the Romans, who awaited the beginning of a second battle. Besides, those of the enemy who carried the head of Publius fixed high upon a spear, rode close up and displayed it, scornfully asking after his parents and family, for surely, they said, it was not meet that Crassus, most base and cowardly of men, should be the father of a son so noble and of such splendid valour. This spectacle shattered and unstrung the spirits of the Romans more than all the rest of their terrible experiences, and they were all filled, not with a passion for revenge, as was to have been expected, but with shuddering and trembling. And yet Crassus, as they say, showed more brilliant qualities in that awful hour than ever before, for he went up and down the ranks crying: "Mine, O Romans, is this sorrow, and mine alone; but the great fortune and glory of Rome abide unbroken and unconquered in you, who are alive and safe. And now if ye have any pity for me, thus bereft of the noblest of sons, show it by your wrath against the enemy. Rob them of their joy; avenge their cruelty; be not cast down at what has happened, for it must needs be that those who aim at great deeds should also suffer greatly. It was not without bloody losses that even Lucullus overthrew Tigranes, or Scipio Antiochus; and our fathers of old lost a thousand ships off Sicily, and in Italy many imperators and generals, not one of whom, by his defeat, prevented them from afterwards mastering his conquerors. For it was not by good fortune merely that the Roman state reached its present

τλημοσύνῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ χωρούντων εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθε δυνάμεως."

XXVII. Τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ παραθαρσύνων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ πολλοὺς ἑώρα προθύμως ὑπακούοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναλαλάξαι κελεύσας ἤλεγξε τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν κατήφειαν, ὡς ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὀλίγην καὶ ἀνώμαλον κραυγὴν ἐποιήσαντο· ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων λαμπρὰ καὶ θρασεῖα κατεῖχεν. τραπομένων δὲ πρὸς ἔργον οἱ μὲν ἱππόται [1] πλάγιοι περιελαύνοντες ἐτόξευον, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῖς κοντοῖς οἱ πρότακτοι χρώμενοι συνέστελλον εἰς
2 ὀλίγον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πλὴν ὅσοι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων φεύγοντες θάνατον ἀπετόλμων παραβόλως εἰς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι, μικρὰ μὲν βλάπτοντες, ὀξέως δὲ θνήσκοντες ὑπὸ τραυμάτων μεγάλων καὶ καιρίων, παχὺν ἐπωθούντων τῷ σιδήρῳ τὸν κόντον εἰς τοὺς ἵππους, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διὰ δυεῖν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ ῥύμης διαπορευόμενον. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνισάμενοι νυκτὸς ἐπιούσης ἀπηλλάγησαν, εἰπόντες ὅτι Κράσσῳ χαρίζονται νύκτα μίαν ἀποθρηνῆσαι τὸν υἱόν, ἢν ἄρα μὴ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ σκεψάμενος ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλον ἐθελήσῃ πρὸς Ἀρσάκην ἢ κομισθῆναι.

3 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐπαυλισάμενοι πλησίον ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ἦσαν· νὺξ δὲ χαλεπὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατελάμβανεν, οὔτε ταφῆς τῶν κειμένων οὔτε θεραπείας τῶν τετρωμένων καὶ ψυχορραγούντων ποιουμένους λόγον, ἑκάστου δ' ἑαυτὸν ἀποκλαίοντος. ἄφυκτα γὰρ ἐφαίνετο τήν τε ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ προσμείνασι καὶ νύκτωρ εἰς πεδίον ἀχανὲς ἐμβα-

[1] ἱππόται with the MSS. (including S) : οἰκέται καὶ πελάται (*slaves and vassals*).

plenitude of power, but by the patient endurance and valour of those who faced dangers in its behalf."

XXVII. Even as he spoke such words of encouragement, Crassus saw that not many of his men listened with any eagerness, but when he also bade them raise the battle cry, he discovered how despondent his army was, so weak, feeble, and uneven was the shout they made, while that which came from the Barbarians was clear and bold. Then, as the enemy got to work, their light cavalry rode round on the flanks of the Romans and shot them with arrows, while the mail-clad horsemen in front, plying their long spears, kept driving them together into a narrow space, except those who, to escape death from the arrows, made bold to rush desperately upon their foes. These did little damage, but met with a speedy death from great and fatal wounds, since the spear which the Parthians thrust into the horses was heavy with steel, and often had impetus enough to pierce through two men at once. After fighting in this manner till night came on, the Parthians withdrew, saying that they would grant Crassus one night in which to bewail his son, unless, with a better regard for his own interests, he should consent to go to Arsaces instead of being carried there.

The Parthians, then, bivouacked near by, and were in high hopes; but it was a grievous night for the Romans. They took no steps to bury their dead nor to care for their wounded and dying, but every man was lamenting his own fate. Escape seemed impossible, whether they waited there for day to come, or plunged by night into a limitless plain.

λοῦσιν· οἵ τε τραυματίαι πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρεῖχον, καὶ κομίζειν, ἐμποδὼν τῷ τάχει τῆς φυγῆς ἐσόμενοι, καὶ ἀπολείπειν, βοὴ τὴν ἀπόδρασιν
4 ἐξαγγελοῦντες. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου, καίπερ αἴτιον ἁπάντων νομίζοντες, ἐπόθουν ὅμως τήν τε ὄψιν καὶ τὴν φωνήν. ὁ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος 56
ὑπὸ σκότους ἔκειτο, παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τύχης, τοῖς δ' εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀβουλίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἠγάπα πρῶτος ὢν καὶ μέγιστος ἐν μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων τοσαύταις, ἀλλ' ὅτι δυεῖν μόνον ἀνδρῶν ὕστερος ἐκρίνετο, τοῦ παντὸς ἀποδεῖν νομίζων.

5 Τότε δ' οὖν αὐτὸν Ὀκταούϊος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ Κάσσιος ἀνίστασαν καὶ παρεθάρρυνον. ὡς δ' ἀπηγορεύκει παντάπασιν, αὐτοὶ συγκαλέσαντες ἑκατοντάρχας καὶ λοχαγούς, ὡς ἔδοξε βουλευομένοις μὴ μένειν, ἀνίστασαν τὸν στρατὸν ἄνευ σάλπιγγος καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας τὸ πρῶτον· εἶτ' αἰσθομένων ὡς ἀπελείποντο τῶν ἀδυνάτων, ἀκοσμία δεινὴ καὶ σύγχυσις μετ' οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς τὸ
6 στρατόπεδον κατεῖχεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν, ὡς ἐπιφερομένων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενοι, πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τάξιν καθιστάμενοι, τῶν δὲ τραυματιῶν ὅσοι παρηκολούθουν τοὺς μὲν ἀναλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποτιθέμενοι, διατριβὴν εἶχον, πλὴν τριακοσίων ἱππέων, οὓς Ἰγνάτιος ἔχων προσέμιξε ταῖς Κάρραις περὶ μέσας νύκτας.
7 φθεγξάμενος δὲ Ῥωμαϊστὶ τοῖς τειχοφυλακοῦσιν,

And their wounded caused them much perplexity: they were sure to impede flight if they were carried away, and if they were left behind, their cries would herald to the enemy the retreat of their companions. Although the soldiers held Crassus to blame for all their ills, still they yearned to see his face and hear his voice. But he was lying on the ground by himself, enveloped in darkness, to the multitude an illustration of the ways of fortune, but to the wise an example of foolish ambition, which would not let him rest satisfied to be first and greatest among many myriads of men, but made him think, because he was judged inferior to two men only, that he lacked everything.

At this time, then, Octavius the legate and Cassius tried to rouse him up and encourage him. But since he was in utter despair, they called together on their own authority the centurions and captains, and when they had decided, upon deliberation, not to remain where they were, they put the army in motion without trumpet signal, and in silence at first. Then the sick and wounded perceived that their comrades were abandoning them, and dreadful disorder and confusion, accompanied by groans and shouts, filled the camp. And after this, as they tried to advance, disorder and panic seized upon them, for they felt sure that the enemy was coming against them. Frequently they would change their course, frequently they would form in order of battle, some of the wounded who followed them had to be taken up, and others to be laid down, and so all were delayed, except three hundred horsemen under Ignatius, who reached Carrhae about midnight. Ignatius hailed the sentinels on the walls in the Roman tongue, and

ὡς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐκέλευσε Κοπωνίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι φράζειν ὅτι γέγονε μάχη μεγάλη Κράσσῳ πρὸς Πάρθους, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν εἰπὼν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ὅστις ἦν ἀπήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεῦγμα, καὶ διέσωσε μὲν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, κακῶς δ' ἤκουσε καταλιπὼν τὸν στρα-
8 τηγόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὤνησέ γε τὸν Κράσσον ἡ προσριφεῖσα τότε τῷ Κοπωνίῳ φωνή· συμφρονήσας γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀγγέλλειν ἔχοντός ἐστι τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ συγκεχυμένον τοῦ λόγου, παρήγγειλεν εὐθὺς ἐξοπλίζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Κράσσον ἐν ὁδῷ γεγενημένον ἀπαντήσας ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρέπεμπε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι νυκτὸς μὲν αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἀπόδρασιν οὐκ ἐδίωκον, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καταλειφθέντας οὐ μείους τετρακισχιλίων ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσφαξαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ πλανωμένους πολλοὺς ἱππασάμενοι συνέλα-
2 βον. τέσσαρας δ' ὁμοῦ σπείρας, ἃς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπέρρηξε Βαργοντήιος ὁ πρεσβευτής, ἐκπεσούσας τῆς ὁδοῦ περισχόντες ἔν τινι λόφῳ διέφθειραν ἀμυνομένας, πλὴν ἀνδρῶν εἴκοσιν. τούτους δὲ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὠθουμένους δι' αὐτῶν θαυμάσαντες εἶξαν, καὶ διέξοδον ἀπιοῦσι βάδην εἰς τὰς Κάρρας ἐδίδοσαν.

Τῷ δὲ Σουρήνᾳ προσέπεσε ψευδὴς λόγος ἐκπεφευγέναι Κράσσον μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δ' εἰς Κάρρας συνερρυηκὸς ὄχλον εἶναι σύμμικτον
3 οὐκ ἀξίων σπουδῆς ἀνθρώπων. οἰόμενος οὖν

when they answered, ordered them to tell Coponius, their commander, that there had been a great battle between Crassus and the Parthians. Then, without another word, and without even telling who he was, he rode off to Zeugma. He saved himself and his men, but got a bad name for deserting his general. However, the message shouted to Coponius at that time was of some advantage to Crassus. For Coponius, concluding that the haste and brevity of the message argued a bearer of no good news, ordered his men to arm forthwith, and as soon as he learned that Crassus was on the march, he went out to meet him, relieved him, and escorted his army into the city.

XXVIII. During the night the Parthians, although they were aware of the flight of the Romans, did not pursue; but as soon as day came, they attacked and slaughtered those who had been left behind in the Roman camp, to the number of four thousand, and then rode about and seized many who were wandering in the plain. Four cohorts together, also, which Vargontinus the legate had suffered to get detached from the main body while it was still dark, and which had lost their way, were surrounded on a sort of hill, and cut to pieces as they fought, all except twenty men. The Parthians, admiring these men, who tried to push their way through them with drawn swords, made way for them and suffered them to pass through and march deliberately to Carrhae.

A false report now reached Surena that Crassus, along with the men of highest rank, had made his escape, and that the fugitives who had streamed into Carrhae were a mixed rabble unworthy of his notice.

ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ τῆς νίκης τέλος, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιδοξῶν καὶ μαθεῖν βουλόμενος τἀληθές, ὅπως ἡ προσμένων ἐνταῦθα πολιορκοίη Κράσσον ἢ διώκοι χαίρειν ἐάσας Καρρηνούς, ὑποπέμπει τινὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ διγλώττων πρὸς τὰ τείχη, κελεύσας ἱέντα Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον καλεῖν Κράσσον αὐτὸν ἢ Κάσσιον, ὡς Σουρήνα διὰ λόγων ἐθέλοντος
4 αὐτοῖς συγγενέσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦ διγλώττου φράσαντος, ὡς ἀπηγγέλη τοῖς περὶ Κράσσον, ἐδέχοντο τὰς προκλήσεις· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἦκον ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἄραβες, οἳ Κράσσον εὖ καὶ Κάσσιον ἀπ' ὄψεως ἐγνώριζον, ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πρὸ τῆς μάχης γεγονότες. οὗτοι τὸν Κάσσιον ἰδόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἔλεγον ὅτι Σουρήνας σπένδεται καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς φίλοις οὖσι βασιλέως σώζεσθαι, Μεσοποταμίαν ἐκλιποῦσιν· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁρᾶν λυσιτελὲς ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης.
5 δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ τόπον ὁρισθῆναι καὶ χρόνον ἀξιοῦντος, ἐν ᾧ συνίασι 562
Σουρήνας καὶ Κράσσος, οὕτω φάμενοι ποιήσειν ἀπήλαυνον.

XXIX. Ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐνέχεσθαι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπῆγε τοὺς Πάρθους πολλὰ καθυβρίζοντας καὶ κελεύοντας, εἰ βούλονται τυχεῖν σπονδῶν Ῥωμαῖοι, Κράσσον ἐγχειρίσαι σφίσι καὶ Κάσσιον δεδε-
2 μένους. οἱ δ' ἤχθοντο μὲν ἠπατημένοι, μακρὰς δὲ καὶ κενὰς τὰς Ἀρμενίων ἐλπίδας καταβάλλειν τῷ Κράσσῳ φράσαντες εἴχοντο δρασμοῦ· καὶ τοῦτ' ἔδει μηδένα πρὸ καιροῦ Καρρηνῶν πυθέσθαι. πυνθάνεται δ' ὁ πάντων ἀπιστότατος Ἀνδρόμαχος,

Supposing, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory, but being still in doubt and wishing to learn the truth, in order that he might either wait there and lay siege to Crassus in the city, or else let Carrhae alone and pursue him, he sent one of his attendants who could speak both languages up to the walls, with orders to call out in the Roman tongue for Crassus himself or Cassius, saying that Surena wished to have a conference with them. The interpreter gave this message, and when it was reported to Crassus, he accepted the invitation. A little while afterwards there came from the Barbarians some Arabs, who knew Crassus and Cassius well by sight, having been in their camp before the battle. When these men saw Cassius on the wall, they said that Surena proposed a truce, and offered them safe conduct if they would be friends of the king and leave Mesopotamia; for this he saw was more advantageous to both parties than any resort to extreme measures. Cassius accepted the proposal, and asked that time and place be fixed for a conference between Surena and Crassus. The men said that this should be done, and rode away.

XXIX. Now Surena was delighted that the men were where he could besiege them, and when day came, he led his Parthians up against the city. With many insults they ordered the Romans, if they wished to obtain a truce, to deliver Crassus and Cassius into their hands in fetters. The Romans were distressed to find themselves deceived, and telling Crassus to abandon his distant and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, prepared for flight, of which none of the men of Carrhae were to know beforehand. But Andromachus, the most faithless of men, learned of

ὑπὸ Κράσσου καὶ τοῦτο πιστευθεὶς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλαθε τοὺς Πάρθους, ἐξαγγέλλοντος τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου καθ' ἕκαστον. 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ νυκτομαχεῖν οὐ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον, ἐξῆγε δὲ νύκτωρ ὁ Κράσσος, ὅπως μὴ καθυστερήσωσι πολὺ τῇ διώξει στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀνδρόμαχος ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ὑφηγεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἐξέτρεψεν εἰς ἕλη βαθέα καὶ χωρία τάφρων μεστὰ τὴν πορείαν, χαλεπὴν καὶ πολυπλανῆ 4 γινομένην τοῖς ἐπισπομένοις. ἐγένοντο γάρ τινες οἳ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς τὸν Ἀνδρομάχον στρέφειν καὶ περιελίττειν εἰκάσαντες οὐκ ἠκολούθησαν, ἀλλὰ Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Κάρρας πάλιν, καὶ τῶν ὁδηγῶν (Ἄραβες δ' ἦσαν) ἀναμένειν κελευόντων ἄχρι ἂν σελήνη παραλλάξῃ τὸν σκορπίον, "Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε," εἶπών, "ἔτι τούτου μᾶλλον φοβοῦμαι τὸν τοξότην," ἀπήλαυνεν εἰς Συρίαν 5 μεθ' ἱππέων πεντακοσίων· ἄλλοι δὲ χρησάμενοι πιστοῖς ὁδηγοῖς ἐλάβοντο χωρίων ὀρεινῶν, ἃ καλεῖται Σίννακα, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ πρὸ ἡμέρας. οὗτοι περὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἦσαν· ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Ὀκταούιος.

Τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἡμέρα κατελάμβανεν ἐπι-βουλευόμενον[1] ὑπ' Ἀνδρομάχου περὶ τὰς δυσχω-6 ρίας καὶ τὸ ἕλος. ἦσαν δὲ τέσσαρες σπεῖραι σὺν αὐτῷ θυρεοφόρων, ἱππεῖς δὲ παντελῶς ὀλίγοι καὶ πέντε ῥαβδοῦχοι, μεθ' ὧν ἐπιπόνως εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ μόλις καταστάς, ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων, ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους ἀπολιπὼν τοῦ συμμῖξαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀκταούιον ἐπ' ἄλλον

[1] ἐπιβουλευόμενον Bekker reads ἔτι ἀγόμενον (*still led*), with Pseudo-Appian.

it, for Crassus not only confided the secret to him, but made him the guide for the journey. Accordingly, everything was known to the Parthians, for Andromachus reported to them all the details. But since it is not the custom, and so not easy, for the Parthians to fight by night, and since Crassus set out by night, Andromachus, by leading the fugitives now by one route and now by another, contrived that the pursuers should not be left far behind, and finally he diverted the march into deep marshes and regions full of ditches, thus making it difficult and circuitous for those who still followed him. For there were some who conjectured that the twisting and turning of Andromachus boded no good, and therefore did not follow him. Cassius, indeed, went back again to Carrhae, and when his guides, who were Arabs, urged him to wait there until the moon had passed the Scorpion, he said that he feared the Archer [1] even more than the Scorpion, and rode off into Syria with five hundred horsemen. And others, too, employing trusty guides, reached a hill country called Sinnaca, and established themselves in safety before day came. These were about five thousand men, and they were led by Octavius, a brave man.

But day found Crassus a prey to the wiles of Andromachus in the difficult places and the marsh. There were with him four cohorts of men-at-arms, a few horsemen all told, and five lictors. With these he got back into the road, with great difficulty, when the enemy at once pressed upon him, and since he was about twelve furlongs short of a junction with Octavius, he took refuge on another hill, not so

[1] Sagittarius, the sign of the zodiac following Scorpio.

ἀναφεύγει λόφον, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν ἄφιππον οὐδ' ὀχυρόν, ὑποκείμενον δὲ τοῖς Σιννάκοις καὶ συνηρτημένον αὐχένι μακρῷ διὰ μέσου κατατείνοντι τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοῦτον. ἦν οὖν ἐν ὄψει τοῖς περὶ
7 τὸν Ὀκταούϊον ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος Ὀκταούϊος ἔθει μετ' ὀλίγων ἄνωθεν ἐπιβοηθῶν, εἶτα οἱ λοιποὶ κακίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ προσπεσόντες καὶ ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου περιέσχον ἐν μέσῳ τὸν Κράσσον καὶ προεβάλλοντο τοὺς θυρεούς, μεγαληγοροῦντες ὡς οὐκ ἔστι Πάρθοις βέλος ὃ προσπεσεῖται τῷ σώματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὶν ἢ σφᾶς ἅπαντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἀποθανεῖν.

XXX. Ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας τούς τε Πάρθους ἀμβλύτερον ἤδη κινδυνεύοντας, καὶ ἣν ἥ τε νὺξ ἐπίσχῃ καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λάβωνται, παντάπασιν αὐτοὺς ἐσομένους ἀλήπτους, ἐπῆγε τῷ Κράσσῳ δόλον. ἀφείθησαν μὲν γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκηκοότες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπίτηδες διαλεγομένων ὡς οὐ βούλεται βασιλεὺς ἄσπονδον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν ἀναλαβεῖν χάριτι, Κράσσῳ χρησάμενος φιλαν-
2 θρώπως, ἔσχοντο δὲ μάχης οἱ βάρβαροι, Σουρήνας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων προσελάσας ἀτρέμα τῷ λόφῳ τοῦ μὲν τόξου τὸν τόνον ἀνῆκε, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν προὔτεινεν, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπὶ συμβάσεις, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἄκοντος πεπείραται βασιλέως, πραότητα δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἑκὼν ἐπιδείκνυται σπενδόμενος ἀπιοῦσι καὶ παρέχων σώζεσθαι.

difficult for cavalry nor yet so strong a position, but one that lay below Sinnaca and was connected with it by a long ridge running through the midst of the plain. His danger was therefore to be seen by Octavius. And Octavius ran first with a few men to bring him aid from the higher ground; then the rest of his men, reproaching themselves with cowardice, plunged forward, and falling upon the enemy and sweeping them from the hill, enveloped Crassus round about, and covered him with their shields, boldly declaring that no Parthian missile should smite their imperator until they had all died fighting in his defence.

XXX. And now Surena, observing that his Parthians were already less impetuous in their attacks, and that if night should come on and the Romans should reach the hills, it would be altogether impossible to capture them, brought a stratagem to bear on Crassus. Some of his Roman captives were first released, who, while in his camp, had heard the Barbarians saying to one another, as they had been ordered to do, that the king did not wish the war between him and the Romans to be waged relentlessly, but preferred to regain their friendship by doing them the favour of treating Crassus kindly. Then the Barbarians ceased fighting, and Surena with his chief officers rode quietly up to the hill, unstrung his bow, held out his right hand, and invited Crassus to come to terms, saying: "I have put your valour and power to the test against the wishes of the king, who now of his own accord shows you the mildness and friendliness of his feelings by offering to make a truce with you if you will withdraw, and by affording you the means of safety."

3 Ταῦτα τοῦ Σουρήνα λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι 563
προθύμως ἐδέξαντο καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ
Κράσσος οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ δι' ἀπάτης ἐσφαλμένος
ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς
ἄλογον ἡγούμενος, οὐχ ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλ' ἐβου-
4 λεύετο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βοώντων καὶ κε-
λευόντων, εἶτα λοιδορούντων καὶ κακιζόντων ὡς
προβάλλοντα μαχουμένους αὐτοὺς οἷς αὐτὸς ἀν-
όπλοις εἰς λόγους οὐ θαρρεῖ συνελθεῖν, πρῶτον
μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο δεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ λειπόμενον
μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας διακαρτερήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ὀρει-
νοῖς καὶ τραχέσι δύνανται διὰ νυκτὸς ἰέναι, καὶ
τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ
5 προέσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγγὺς οὔσης. ὡς δὲ
χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κρούοντες
ἠπείλουν, φοβηθεὶς ἐχώρει, καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶπε
μεταστραφείς· "Ὀκταούιε καὶ Πετρώνιε καὶ ὅσοι
πάρεστε Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες, ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶτε τῆς ἐμῆς
ὁδοῦ τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ σύνιστε παρόντες ὡς αἰσχρὰ
πάσχω καὶ βίαια, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις
λέγετε σωθέντες ὡς Κράσσος ἀπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων, οὐκ ἐκδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπώλετο."

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἔμειναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀκταούιον,
ἀλλὰ συγκατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου· τοὺς δὲ
ῥαβδούχους ἑπομένους ὁ Κράσσος ἀπήλασεν.
πρῶτοι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο
μιξέλληνες, οἳ καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν Κράσσον
ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἁλόμενοι, καὶ προσαγορεύσαντες
ἑλλάδι φωνῇ παρεκάλουν προπέμψαι τινάς, οἷς

When Surena said this, the rest of the Romans eagerly accepted his proposal and were full of joy, but Crassus, whose every discomfiture at the hands of the Barbarians had been due to fraud, and who thought the suddenness of their change a strange thing, would not reply, but took the matter into consideration. His soldiers, however, cried out and urged him to accept, then fell to abusing and reviling him for putting them forward to fight men with whom he himself had not the courage to confer even when they came unarmed. At first he tried entreaties and arguments. If they would hold out for what was left of the day, during the night they could reach the mountains and rough country; and he showed them the road thither, and exhorted them not to abandon hope when safety was so near. But when they grew angry with him, and clashed their arms together, and threatened him, then he was terrified and began to go towards Surena. As he went, however, he turned and said: "Octavius and Petronius and ye other Roman commanders here present, ye see that I go because I must, and ye are eyewitnesses of the shameful violence I suffer; but tell the world, if ye get safely home, that Crassus perished because he was deceived by his enemies, and not because he was delivered up to them by his countrymen."

XXXI. Octavius, however, and those about him, did not remain, but went down from the hill with Crassus; the lictors, who were following him, Crassus drove back. The first of the Barbarians to meet him were two half-breed Greeks, who leaped from their horses and made obeisance to him; then addressing him in the Greek tongue, they urged him to send a party forward to assure themselves that Surena and

ἐπιδείξεται Σουρήνας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν
2 ἀνόπλους καὶ ἀσιδήρους προσερχομένους. ὁ δὲ
Κράσσος ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἐλάχιστον
εἶχε τοῦ ζῆν λόγον, οὐκ ἂν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς
ἦλθεν, ὅμως δὲ δύο Ῥωσκίους ἀδελφοὺς ἔπεμψε
πευσομένους ἐπὶ τίσι καὶ πόσοι συνίασιν. οὓς
εὐθὺς συλλαβὼν ὁ Σουρήνας κατέσχεν, αὐτὸς
δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππότης προσῄει καὶ "Τί
τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "πεζὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ,
ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀχούμεθα;" καὶ προσαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
3 ἵππον αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου φήσαντος οὔτε
αὐτὸν ἁμαρτάνειν οὔτ' ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ἑκατέρῳ πάτριόν
ἐστι ποιουμένους τὴν σύνοδον, εἶναι μὲν αὐτόθεν
ἔφη σπονδὰς καὶ εἰρήνην ὁ Σουρήνας Τρῳδῇ τε
βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, δεῖν δὲ γράψασθαι τὰς
συνθήκας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν προσελθόντας· "Οὐ
γὰρ ὑμεῖς γε," ἔφη, "πάνυ μνήμονες ὁμολογιῶν οἱ
Ῥωμαῖοι," καὶ προὔτεινε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ. μετα-
πεμπομένου δ' ἵππον οὐδὲν ἔφη δεῖν· "Βασιλεὺς
4 γάρ σοι δίδωσι τοῦτον." ἅμα δ' ἵππος τε τῷ
Κράσσῳ παρέστη χρυσοχάλινος, οἵ τε ἀναβολεῖς
αὐτὸν ἀράμενοι περιὲβίβασαν καὶ παρείποντο
πληγῇ τὸν ἵππον ἐπιταχύνοντες. Ὀκταούϊος δὲ
πρῶτος ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῶν χαλινῶν, καὶ μετ'
ἐκεῖνον εἷς τῶν χιλιάρχων Πετρώνιος, εἶτα οἱ
λοιποὶ περιΐσταντο τόν τε ἵππον ἀνακόπτειν
πειρώμενοι καὶ τοὺς πιεζοῦντας τὸν Κράσσον ἐξ
5 ἑκατέρου μέρους ἀφέλκοντες. ὠθισμοῦ δὲ γενο-
μένου καὶ ταραχῆς, εἶτα πληγῶν, Ὀκταούϊος μὲν
ἀνασπάσας τὸ ξίφος ἑνὸς τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνει
τὸν ἱπποκόμον, ἕτερος δὲ τὸν Ὀκταούϊον ἐκ τῶν

those about him were advancing to the conference without armour and without weapons. Crassus replied that if he had the least concern for his life, he would not have come into their hands; but nevertheless he sent two Roscii, brothers, to enquire on what terms and in what numbers they should hold their meeting. These men were promptly seized and detained by Surena, while he himself with his chief officers advanced on horseback, saying: "What is this? the Roman imperator on foot, while we are mounted?" Then he ordered a horse to be brought for Crassus. And when Crassus answered that neither of them was at fault, since each was following the custom of his country in this meeting, Surena said that from that moment there was a truce and peace between King Hyrodes and the Romans, but it was necessary to go forward to the river Euphrates and there have the contracts put in writing; "for you Romans at least," said he, "are not very mindful of agreements," and he held out his right hand to Crassus. Then when Crassus proposed to send for a horse, Surena said there was no need of it, "for the king offers you this one." At the same time a horse with gold-studded bridle stood at Crassus's side, and the grooms lifted Crassus up and mounted him, and then ran along by him, quickening his horse's pace with blows. Octavius was first to seize the bridle, and after him Petronius, one of the legionary tribunes; then the rest of the Romans in the party surrounded the horse, trying to stop him, and dragging away those who crowded in upon Crassus on either side. Scuffling followed, and a tumult, then blows. Octavius drew his sword and slew the groom of one of the Barbarians, but another smote Octavius down from

ὄπισθεν πατάξας. Πετρώνιος δὲ ὅπλου μὲν οὐκ εὐπόρησεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν θώρακα πληγεὶς ἀπεπήδησεν ἄτρωτος· τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ὄνομα Πομαξάθρης Πάρθος ἀπέκτεινεν.

6 Οἱ δ' οὔ φασιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, τοῦτον δὲ κειμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαι καὶ τὴν δεξιάν. εἰκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκεται· τῶν γὰρ παρόντων οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ μαχόμενοι περὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δ'
7 εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον. ἐπελθόντων δὲ 564
τῶν Πάρθων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Κράσσος μὲν δίκην δέδωκε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κελεύει Σουρήνας κατιέναι θαρροῦντας, οἱ μὲν ἐνεχείρισαν αὑτοὺς καταβάντες, οἱ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐσπάρησαν, καὶ τούτων ὀλίγοι παντάπασι διεσώθησαν· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκθηρεύοντες οἱ Ἄραβες συνελάμβανον καὶ διέφθειρον. λέγονται δ' οἱ πάντες δισμύριοι μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, μύριοι δὲ ἁλῶναι ζῶντες.

XXXII. Ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς Ὑρώδην ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαδοὺς λόγον ὑπ' ἀγγέλων εἰς Σελεύκειαν ὡς ζῶντα Κράσσον ἄγοι, παρεσκευάζετο πομπήν τινα γελοίαν ὕβρει προσαγορεύων
2 θρίαμβον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμφερέστατος Κράσσῳ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Γάϊος Πακκιανός, ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν γυναικὸς ἐνδὺς καὶ διδαχθεὶς Κράσσος ὑπακούειν καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς καλοῦσιν, ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενος ἤγετο· πρὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλπιγκταὶ καὶ ῥαβδοῦχοί τινες ὀχούμενοι καμήλοις ἤλαυνον· ἐξήρτητο δὲ τῶν ῥάβδων βαλάντια καὶ παρὰ τοὺς

behind. Petronius had no offensive weapons, but when he was struck on the breastplate, leaped down from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxathres.

Some, however, say that it was not this man, but another, who killed Crassus, and that this man cut off the head and right hand of Crassus as he lay upon the ground. These details, however, are matters of conjecture rather than of knowledge. For of the Romans who were present there and fighting about Crassus, some were slain, and others fled back to the hill. Thither the Parthians came and said that as for Crassus, he had met with his deserts, but that Surena ordered the rest of the Romans to come down without fear. Thereupon some of them went down and delivered themselves up, but the rest scattered during the night, and of these a very few made their escape; the rest of them were hunted down by the Arabs, captured, and cut to pieces. In the whole campaign, twenty thousand are said to have been killed, and ten thousand to have been taken alive.

XXXII. Surena now took the head and hand of Crassus and sent them to Hyrodes in Armenia, but he himself sent word by messengers to Seleucia that he was bringing Crassus there alive, and prepared a laughable sort of procession which he insultingly called a triumph. That one of his captives who bore the greatest likeness to Crassus, Caius Paccianus, put on a woman's royal robe, and under instructions to answer to the name of Crassus and the title of Imperator when so addressed, was conducted along on horseback. Before him rode trumpeters and a few lictors borne on camels; from the fasces of the

πελέκεις πρόσφατοι κεφαλαὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποτετμη-
3 μέναι. κατόπιν δ' εἵποντο Σελευκίδες ἑταῖραι μουσουργοί, πολλὰ βωμολόχα καὶ γελοῖα δι' ᾀσμάτων εἰς θηλύτητα καὶ ἀνανδρίαν τοῦ Κράσσου λέγουσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντες ἐθεῶντο.

Τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν τῶν Σελευκέων ἀθροίσας εἰσήνεγκεν ἀκόλαστα βιβλία τῶν Ἀριστείδου Μιλησιακῶν, οὔτι ταὐτά γε καταψευσάμενος· εὑρέθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ῥωσκίου σκευοφόροις, καὶ παρέσχε τῷ Σουρήνᾳ καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ καὶ κατασκῶψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μηδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀπέχεσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ γραμμάτων δύνανται
4 τοιούτων. τοῖς μέντοι Σελευκεῦσιν ἐδόκει σοφὸς ἀνὴρ Αἴσωπος εἶναι, τὸν Σουρήναν ὁρῶσι τὴν τῶν Μιλησιακῶν ἀκολαστημάτων πήραν ἐξηρτημένον πρόσθεν, ὄπισθεν δὲ Παρθικὴν Σύβαριν ἐφελκόμενον ἐν τοσαύταις παλλακίδων ἁμάξαις, τρόπον τινὰ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐχίδναις καὶ σκυτάλαις ἀντιμόρφως τὰ μὲν ἐμφανῆ καὶ πρόσθια μέρη φοβερὰ καὶ θηριώδη δόρασι καὶ τόξοις καὶ ἵπποις
5 προβαλλομένην, κατ' οὐρὰν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος εἰς χορείας καὶ κρόταλα καὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ παννυχίδας ἀκολάστους μετὰ γυναικῶν τελευτῶσαν. ψεκτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ῥώσκιος, ἀναιδεῖς δὲ Πάρθοι τὰ Μιλησιακὰ ψέγοντες, ὧν πολλοὶ βεβασιλεύκασιν ἐκ

[1] Probably a collection of love stories, the scenes of which were laid in Miletus. Of its author, who flourished perhaps in the second century B.C., almost nothing is known.

lictors purses were suspended, and to their axes were fastened Roman heads newly cut off; behind these followed courtezans of Seleucia, musicians, who sang many scurrilous and ridiculous songs about the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus; and these things were for all to see.

But before the assembled senate of Seleucia, Surena brought licentious books of the "Milesiaca"[1] of Aristides, and in this matter, at least, there was no falsehood on his part, for the books were found in the baggage of Roscius, and gave Surena occasion to heap much insulting ridicule upon the Romans, since they could not, even when going to war, let such subjects and writings alone. The people of Seleucia, however, appreciated the wisdom of Aesop[2] when they saw Surena with a wallet of obscenities from the "Milesiaca" in front of him, but trailing behind him a Parthian Sybaris in so many waggon-loads of concubines.[3] After a fashion his train was a counterpart to the fabled echidnae and scytalae among serpents, by showing its conspicuous and forward portions fearful and savage, with spears, archery, and horse, but trailing off in the rear of the line into dances, cymbals, lutes, and nocturnal revels with women. Roscius was certainly culpable, but it was shameless in the Parthians to find fault with the "Milesiaca," when many of the royal line of their

[2] In the fable of the two wallets, which everyone carries, one in front containing his neighbour's faults, which are therefore always before his eyes; and one behind containing his own faults, which he therefore never sees.

[3] Cf. chapter xxi. 6.

Μιλησίων καὶ Ἰωνίδων ἑταιρῶν γεγονότες Ἀρσακίδαι.

XXXIII. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Τρώδης ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη διηλλαγμένος Ἀρταουάσδῃ τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Πακόρῳ τῷ παιδὶ καθωμολογημένος, ἑστιάσεις τε καὶ πότοι δι' ἀλλήλων ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ παρεισήγετο τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀκουσμάτων. 2 ἦν γὰρ οὔτε φωνῆς οὔτε γραμμάτων Τρώδης Ἑλληνικῶν ἄπειρος, ὁ δ' Ἀρταουάσδης καὶ τραγῳδίας ἐποίει καὶ λόγους ἔγραφε καὶ ἱστορίας, ὧν ἔνιαι διασώζονται. τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Κράσσου κομισθείσης ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπηρμέναι μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τράπεζαι, τραγῳδιῶν δὲ ὑποκριτὴς Ἰάσων ὄνομα Τραλλιανὸς ᾖδεν Εὐριπίδου Βακχῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀγαύην. εὐδοκιμοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ Σιλλάκης ἐπιστὰς τῷ ἀνδρῶνι καὶ προσκυνήσας προὔ- 3 βαλεν εἰς μέσον τοῦ Κράσσου τὴν κεφαλήν. κρότῳ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ χαρᾶς ἀραμένων, τὸν μὲν Σιλλάκην κατέκλιναν οἱ ὑπηρέται βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, ὁ δ' Ἰάσων τὰ μὲν τοῦ Πενθέως σκευοποιήματα παρέδωκέ τινι τῶν χορευτῶν, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου κεφαλῆς λαβόμενος καὶ ἀναβακχεύσας ἐπέραινεν ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέλη μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ ᾠδῆς·

> Φέρομεν ἐξ ὄρεος
> ἕλικα νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα,
> μακαρίαν θήραν.[1]

[1] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1170–72 (Kirchhoff μακάριον).

Arsacidae were sprung from Milesian and Ionian courtezans.

XXXIII. While this was going on, it happened that Hyrodes was at last reconciled with Artavasdes the Armenian, and agreed to receive the latter's sister as wife for his son Pacorus, and there were reciprocal banquets and drinking bouts, at which many Greek compositions were introduced. For Hyrodes was well acquainted both with the Greek language and literature, and Artavasdes actually composed tragedies, and wrote orations and histories, some of which are preserved. Now when the head of Crassus was brought to the king's door, the tables had been removed, and a tragic actor, Jason by name, of Tralles, was singing that part of the "Bacchae" of Euripides where Agave is about to appear.[1] While he was receiving his applause, Sillaces stood at the door of the banqueting-hall, and after a low obeisance, cast the head of Crassus into the centre of the company. The Parthians lifted it up with clapping of hands and shouts of joy, and at the king's bidding his servants gave Sillaces a seat at the banquet. Then Jason handed his costume of Pentheus to one of the chorus, seized the head of Crassus, and assuming the role of the frenzied Agave, sang these verses through as if inspired:

> "We bring from the mountain
> A tendril fresh-cut to the palace,
> A wonderful prey."

[1] Pentheus, king of Thebes, the son of Agave, refused to recognize the divinity of Dionysus, whereupon the god infuriated the women, and Agave killed her own son. She appears in the *Bacchae* with his head in her hand, exulting over the death of the supposed wild beast.

4 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πάντας ἔτερπεν· ἀδομένων δὲ τῶν 565
ἐφεξῆς ἀμοιβαίων πρὸς τὸν χορόν,

ΧΟ. *τίς ἐφόνευσεν ;*
ΑΓ. *ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας·*[1]

ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Πομαξάθρης (ἐτύγχανε δὲ δειπνῶν) ἀντελαμβάνετο τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς ἑαυτῷ λέγειν ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσῆκον. ἡσθεὶς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν οἷς πάτριόν ἐστιν ἐδωρήσατο, τῷ δ' Ἰάσονι τάλαντον ἔδωκεν. εἰς τοιοῦτό φασιν ἐξόδιον τὴν Κράσσου στρατηγίαν ὥσπερ τραγῳδίαν τελευτῆσαι.

5 Δίκη μέντοι καὶ τῆς ὠμότητος Τρώδην καὶ τῆς ἐπιορκίας Σουρήναν ἀξία μετῆλθεν. Σουρήναν μὲν γὰρ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον Τρώδης φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης ἀπέκτεινεν, Τρώδῃ δὲ ἀποβαλόντι Πάκορον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μάχῃ κρατηθέντα, καὶ νοσήσαντι νόσον εἰς ὕδρωπα τραπεῖσαν, Φραάτης ὁ υἱὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἀκόνιτον ἔδωκεν. ἀναδεξαμένης δὲ τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον εἰς ἑαυτήν, ὥστε συνεκκριθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος κουφισθέντος, ἐπὶ τὴν ταχίστην τῶν ὁδῶν ἐλθὼν ὁ Φραάτης ἀπέπνιξεν αὐτόν.

[1] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1179 (Kirchhoff, ΧΟ. *τίς ἁ βαλοῦσα πρῶτα*).

This delighted everybody; but when the following dialogue with the chorus was chanted:

(*Chorus*) "Who slew him?"
(*Agave*) "Mine is the honour,"

Pomaxathres, who happened to be one of the banqueters, sprang up and laid hold of the head, feeling that it was more appropriate for him to say this than for Jason. The king was delighted, and bestowed on Pomaxathres the customary gifts, while to Jason he gave a talent. With such a farce as this the expedition of Crassus is said to have closed, just like a tragedy.[1]

However, worthy punishment overtook both Hyrodes for his cruelty and Surena for his treachery. For not long after this Hyrodes became jealous of the reputation of Surena, and put him to death; and after Hyrodes had lost his son Pacorus, who was defeated in battle by the Romans,[2] and had fallen into a disease which resulted in dropsy, his son Phraates plotted against his life and gave him aconite. And when the disease absorbed the poison so that it was thrown off with it and the patient thereby relieved, Phraates took the shortest path and strangled his father.

[1] A poet competing at the Athenian City Dionysia exhibited three tragedies and a satyric drama, "the four plays being performed in succession in the course of the same day."

[2] 38 B.C. Cf. Plutarch's *Antony*, xxxiv. 1. According to Dio Cassius, xlix, 21, Pacorus fell on the same day on which Crassus had been slain fifteen years before.

ΝΙΚΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΣΣΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκρίσει πρῶτον ὁ Νικίου πλοῦτος τῷ Κράσσου παραβαλλόμενος ἀμεμπτοτέραν ἔχει τὴν κτῆσιν. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν τις δοκιμάσειε τὴν ἀπὸ μετάλλων ἐργασίαν, ἧς τὰ πλεῖστα περαίνεται διὰ κακούργων ἢ βαρβάρων, ἐνίων δεδεμένων καὶ φθειρομένων ἐν τόποις ὑπούλοις καὶ νοσεροῖς· παραβαλλομένη δὲ πρὸς τὰ Σύλλα δημιόπρατα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐργολα-
2 βίας, ἐπιεικεστέρα φανεῖται. ταύταις γὰρ ὁ Κράσσος ἀναφανδὸν ὡς τῷ γεωργεῖν ἐχρῆτο καὶ τῷ δανείζειν· ἃ δὲ ἔξαρνος ἦν ἐλεγχόμενος, ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν ἐν βουλῇ λέγειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀδικεῖν καὶ γύναια περιϊὼν κολακεύειν καὶ συνεπικρύπτειν τοὺς πονηρούς, τούτων αἰτίαν οὐδὲ ψευδῆ ποτε Νικίας ἔλαβεν, ἄλλως δὲ διδοὺς καὶ προϊέμενος ἀργύριον ὑπὸ δειλίας τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἐχλευάζετο, πρᾶγμα ποιῶν Περικλεῖ μὲν ἴσως καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ μὴ πρέπον, αὐτῷ δ' ἀναγκαῖον
3 οὐκ εὖ πεφυκότι πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν. ᾧ καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὕστερον ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπαρρησιάσατο πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, αἰτίαν ἔχων ἐξωνήσασθαί τινα τῶν συκοφαντῶν· "Ἥδομαι γάρ," εἶπεν, "εἰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον πεπολιτευμένος πάρ' ὑμῖν διδοὺς πεφώραμαι πρότερον ἢ λαμβάνων."

4 Ἦν δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις πολιτικώτερος μὲν ὁ Νικίας ἀναθήμασι καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ διδα-

COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

I. In comparing the men, first, the wealth of Nicias was acquired in a more blameless manner than that of Crassus. For although it is true that the working of mines cannot be highly regarded, since most of it is carried on by employing malefactors or Barbarians, some of whom are kept in chains and done to death in damp and unwholesome places, still, when compared with the public confiscations of Sulla and the making of contracts where fire is raging, it will appear in the more favourable light. For Crassus openly utilized these opportunities as men do agriculture and money-lending. And as for the practices which he denied when on trial, namely, taking bribes for his voice in the senate, wronging the allies, circumventing weak women with his flatteries, and aiding base men to cloak their iniquities, no such charges, even though false, were ever made against Nicias; nay, he was rather laughed at for spending his money lavishly on informers out of cowardice, a practice unbecoming, perhaps, in a Pericles and an Aristides, but necessary for him, since he was not well stocked with courage. And for this practice Lycurgus the orator, in later times, boldly took to himself credit before the people, when accused of buying up one of these informers; "I am glad indeed," he said, "that after such a long political career among you, I have been detected in giving rather than receiving money."

As for their outlays of money, Nicias was more public spirited in his noble ambition to make offerings

σκαλίαις χορῶν φιλοτιμούμενος, ὧν δ' ὁ Κράσσος ἀνάλωσεν ἑστιάσας ἅμα τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, εἶτα θρέψας πάλιν, οὐδὲν ἦν μέρος ἃ Νικίας ἐκέκτητο σὺν οἷς ἀνάλωσεν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν, εἴ τινα λέληθε τὸ τὴν κακίαν ἀνωμαλίαν εἶναί τινα τρόπου καὶ ἀνομολογίαν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς αἰσχρῶς συλλέγοντας εἶτ' ἀχρήστως ἐκχέοντας.

II. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλούτου τοσαῦτα· τοῖς δὲ πολιτεύμασι τοῦ μὲν Νικίου πανοῦργον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἄδικον οὐδὲ βίαιον πρόσεστιν οὐδὲ θρασύτης, ἀλλ' ἐξηπατᾶτο μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσῄει μετ' εὐλαβείας. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου πολλὴν μὲν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἔχθραν καὶ φιλίαν μεταβολαῖς ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν κατηγοροῦσι, βίᾳ δ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠρνεῖτο τὴν ὑπατείαν μετιέναι, μισθωσάμενος ἄνδρας τοὺς Κάτωνι καὶ Δομιτίῳ
2 τὰς χεῖρας προσοίσοντας. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ψηφοφορίᾳ τοῦ δήμου πολλοὶ μὲν ἐτρώθησαν, ἔπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες, αὐτὸς δ', ὅπερ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ διηγήσει παρελήλυθε, Λεύκιον Ἀννάλιον, ἄνδρα βουλευτήν, ἀντιλέγοντα πὺξ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξέβαλεν ἡμαγμένον.
3 Ὡς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα βίαιος ὁ Κράσσος καὶ τυραννικός, οὕτως αὖ πάλιν ἐκείνου τὸ ψοφοδεὲς 566
ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἄτολμον καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις ὑφειμένον τῶν μεγίστων ἐπιλήψεων ἄξιον· ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ὑψηλὸς περί γε ταῦτα καὶ μεγαλόφρων, οὐ πρὸς Κλέωνας οὐδ' Ὑπερβόλους, μὰ Δία, τοῦ

to the gods and provide the people with gymnastic exhibitions and trained choruses; and yet his whole estate, together with his expenditures, was not a tithe of what Crassus expended when he feasted so many myriads of men at once, and then furnished them with food afterwards. I am therefore amazed that anyone should fail to perceive that vice is a sort of inequality and incongruity of character, when he sees men amassing money shamefully and squandering it uselessly.

II. So much regarding their wealth. And now in their political careers, no chicanery nor injustice, no violence nor harshness attaches to Nicias, but he was deceived the rather by Alcibiades, and made his appeals to the people with too much caution. Whereas Crassus is accused of much ungenerous faithlessness in his vacillations between friends and enemies; and as for violence, he himself could not deny that when he stood for the consulship, he hired men to lay hands on Cato and Domitius. And in the assembly which voted on the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded and four killed; and Crassus himself (a fact which escaped us in the narrative of his life), when Lucius Annalius, a senator, was speaking in opposition, smote him in the face with his fist and drove him bleeding from the forum.

But if Crassus was violent and tyrannical in these matters, Nicias went to the other extreme. His timidity and cowardice in the public service, and his subservience to the basest men, deserve the severest censure. Crassus, indeed, showed a certain loftiness and largeness of spirit in this regard, for he contended not with men like Cleon and Hyperbolus,

ἀγῶνος ὄντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος λαμπρότητα καὶ τρεῖς τοῦ Πομπηΐου θριάμβους, οὐχ ὑπείξας, ἀλλ' ἀντάρας ἑκατέρῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ἀξιώματι δὲ τῆς τιμητικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ Πομπήϊον
4 ὑπερβαλόμενος. δεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγίστοις οὐ τὸ ἀνεπίφθονον, ἀλλὰ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ λαμβάνειν, μεγέθει δυνάμεως ἐξαμαυροῦντα τὸν φθόνον. εἰ δ' ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀγαπᾷς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἡσυχίαν, καὶ δέδιας Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐν δὲ Πύλῳ Λακεδαιμονίους, Περδίκκαν δ' ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἡ πόλις ἔχει σχολῆς ἐκ μέσου γενόμενον καθῆσθαι πλέ-
κοντα τῆς ἀταραξίας σεαυτῷ στέφανον, ὡς ἔνιοι
5 σοφισταὶ λέγουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔρως θεῖος ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὸ λῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἑλληνικώτατον πολίτευμα· καὶ τῆς πράξεως ἕνεκα ταύτης οὐκ ἄξιον Νικίᾳ παραβαλεῖν Κράσσον, οὐδ' εἰ τὸ Κάσπιον φέρων πέλαγος ἢ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὠκεανὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ προσώρισεν.

III. Πόλει μέντοι χρώμενον ἀρετῆς αἰσθανομένῃ καὶ κρείττονα ὄντα τῇ δυνάμει χώραν οὐ δοτέον τοῖς πονηροῖς οὐδ' ἀρχὴν μὴ ἄρχουσιν οὐδὲ πίστιν ἀπιστουμένοις, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Νικίας, τὸν Κλέωνα μηδὲν ὄντα πλέον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀναισχυντίας καὶ κραυγῆς αὐτὸς
2 εἰς τὸ στρατηγεῖν καταστήσας. οὐκ ἐπαινῶ μὲν γὰρ[1] ἐγὼ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτακείοις ἐπει-

[1] μὲν γὰρ Stephanus, Bekker, and S : μεν.

far from it, but against the brilliant Caesar, and against Pompey with his three triumphs; and he did not shrink from their path, but made himself a match for each in power, and in the dignity of his censorial office actually surpassed Pompey. For in the supreme struggles of a political career one must not adopt a course which awakens no envy, but one which dazzles men, throwing envy into the shade by the greatness of one's power. But if, like Nicias, you set your heart above all else on security and quiet, and fear Alcibiades on the bema, and the Lacedaemonians at Pylos, and Perdiccas in Thrace, then there is ample room in the city where you can sit at leisure, removed from all activity, and "weaving for yourself," as sundry Sophists say, "a crown of tranquillity." His love of peace, indeed, had something godlike about it, and his putting a stop to the war was a political achievement most truly Hellenic in its scope. And because Nicias did this, Crassus is not worthy of comparison with him, nor would he have been even though in his ardour he had made the Caspian Sea or the Indian Ocean a boundary of the Roman empire.

III. When, however, a man wields superior power in a city which is open to the appeals of virtue, he should not give a footing to the base, nor command to those who are no commanders at all, nor confidence to those who deserve no confidence. But this is just what Nicias did when, of his own motion, he set Cleon in command of the army, a man who was nothing more to the city than a shameless brawler from the bema. I do not, indeed, commend Crassus, in the war with Spartacus,

χθέντα θᾶσσον ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον διαγωνίσασθαι, καίτοι φιλοτιμίας ἦν τὸ δεῖσαι μὴ Πομπήϊος ἐλθὼν ἀφέληται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἀφείλετο Μετέλλου Μόμμιος τὴν Κόρινθον· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Νικίου παντάπασιν ἄτοπον καὶ δεινόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐλπίδας οὐδὲ ῥᾳστώνην ἐχούσης ἐξέστη τῷ ἐχθρῷ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενος ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μέγαν ἠγάπησε, τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενος, προέσθαι τὸ
3 κοινόν. καίτοι ὅ γε Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἵνα μὴ φαῦλος ἄνθρωπος ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ ἄφρων στρατηγήσας ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀργυρίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν αὐτόν, καὶ Κάτων, ὅτε μάλιστα ἑώρα πράγματα καὶ κινδύνους ἔχουσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
4 τὴν δημαρχίαν, μετῆλθεν· ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίνῳαν καὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Μηλίους τοὺς ταλαιπώρους φυλάττων στρατηγόν, εἰ δὲ[1] δέοι μάχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀποδυόμενος τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ θρασύτητι ναῦς καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατηγίαν ἐμπειρίας ἄκρας δεομένην παραδιδούς, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προΐεται δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς[2] πατρίδος ἀσφάλειαν καὶ
5 σωτηρίαν. ὅθεν ὕστερον οὐχ ἑκὼν οὐδὲ βουλόμενος Συρακουσίοις πολεμεῖν ἠναγκάζετο, δοκῶν οὐ λογισμῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ μαλακίᾳ τὸ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀποστερεῖν Σικελίας τὴν πόλιν.

Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι μεγάλης ἐπιεικείας σημεῖον, ὅτι δυσχεραίνοντα τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ φεύγοντα τὸ

[1] εἰ δὲ Coraës and Bekker, after Bryan: εἰ.
[2] τὴν τῆς Stephanus, Bekker, and S: τῆς.

for pressing forward into action with greater speed than safety, although it was natural for a man of his ambition to fear that Pompey would come and rob him of his glory, just as Mummius had robbed Metellus of Corinth; but the conduct of Nicias was altogether strange and terrible. For it was not while it afforded him good hopes of success, or even of ease, that he renounced his ambition to hold the command in favour of his enemy, but when he saw that his generalship involved him in great peril, then he was content to betray the common good at the price of his own safety. And yet Themistocles, during the Persian wars, to prevent a worthless and senseless man from ruining the city as one of its generals, bought him off from the office; and Cato stood for the tribuneship when he saw that it would involve him in the greatest toil and danger in behalf of the city. Nicias, on the other hand, kept himself in the command against Minoa, and Cythera, and the wretched Melians, but when it was necessary to fight the Lacedaemonians, stripped off his general's cloak, handed over to the inexperience and rashness of Cleon ships, men, arms, and a command requiring the utmost experience, and so betrayed not only his own reputation, but the security and safety of his own country. Wherefore he was afterwards forced, against his wish and inclination, to wage war on Syracuse, for it was thought to be no calculation of what was expedient, but merely his love of ease and lack of spirit which made him use all his efforts to rob the city of Sicily.

There is, however, this proof of his great reasonableness, namely, that although he was always averse to war

στρατηγεῖν οὐκ ἐπαύοντο χειροτονοῦντες ὡς
6 ἐμπειρότατον καὶ βέλτιστον· τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ
παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐφιεμένῳ στρατηγίας οὐχ
ὑπῆρξε τυχεῖν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δουλικὸν πόλεμον ἐξ
ἀνάγκης, Πομπηΐου καὶ Μετέλλου καὶ Λουκούλλων
ἀμφοτέρων ἀπόντων, καίτοι τότε τιμωμένῳ μάλι-
στα καὶ δυναμένῳ πλεῖστον. ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ
τοῖς σπουδάζουσι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸν
κωμικὸν "ἀνὴρ ἄριστος" εἶναι "τἆλλα πλὴν ἐν
7 ἀσπίδι." καὶ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲν ὤνησεν 567
ἐκβιασθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φιλαρχίας αὐτοῦ καὶ
φιλοτιμίας. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντα Νικίαν
ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ῥωμαίους δὲ Κράσ-
σος ἄκοντας ἐξήγαγεν· καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦτον ἡ πόλις,
ἐκεῖνος δὲ διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἠτύχησεν.

IV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις τὸν
Νικίαν ἐπαινεῖν ἢ ψέγειν τὸν Κράσσον. ὁ μὲν
γὰρ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος ἡγεμόνος
ἔμφρονος οὐ συνηπατήθη ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν πολιτῶν,
ἀλλ' ἀπεῖπε καὶ ἀπέγνω λήψεσθαι Σικελίαν· ὁ δ'
ὡς ἐπὶ ῥᾷστον ἔργον τὸν Παρθικὸν ὁρμήσας πόλε-
2 μον ἥμαρτεν. ὠρέχθη δὲ μεγάλων, Καίσαρος τὰ
ἑσπέρια καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Γερμανοὺς καταστρε-
φομένου καὶ Βρεττανίαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω καὶ
τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐλάσαι θάλασσαν καὶ προσεργάσα-
σθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν οἷς Πομπήϊος ἐπῆλθε καὶ
Λούκουλλος ἀντέσχεν, ἄνδρες εὐμενεῖς καὶ πρὸς
πάντας ἀγαθοὶ διαμείναντες, προελόμενοι δ' ὅμοια

and avoided military command, the Athenians ceased not to elect him to it, believing him to be their most experienced and best general. Whereas Crassus, though he was all the while eager for military command, did not succeed in getting it except in the servile war, and then of necessity, because Pompey and Metellus and both the Luculli were away. And yet by that time he had acquired the greatest honour and influence in the city. But it would seem that even his best friends thought him, in the words of the comic poet, "The bravest warrior everywhere but in the field."[1] And yet this did not prevent the Romans from being overwhelmed by his ambitious love of command. For the Athenians sent Nicias out to the war against his will; but the Romans were led out by Crassus against theirs. It was owing to Crassus that his city, but to his city that Nicias, suffered misfortune.

IV. However, in this there is more ground for praising Nicias than for blaming Crassus. The former brought into play the experience and calculation of a wise leader, and did not share the deceitful hopes of his fellow-citizens, but insisted that it was beyond his power to take Sicily; whereas Crassus made the mistake of entering upon the Parthian war as a very easy undertaking. And yet his aims were high; while Caesar was subduing the West,—Gaul and Germany and Britain,—he insisted on marching against the East and India, and on completing the reduction of Asia which had been begun by Pompey and Lucullus. Now these were men of good intentions and honourably disposed towards all, and yet they elected the same course as Crassus, and

[1] An iambic trimeter of unknown authorship (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 493).

3 Κράσσῳ καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπηΐῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς διδομένης ἡ σύγκλητος ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ Καίσαρα μυριάδας τριάκοντα Γερμανῶν τρεψάμενον συνεβούλευεν ὁ Κάτων ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς ἠττημένοις καὶ τρέψαι τὸ μήνιμα τοῦ παρασπονδήματος εἰς ἐκεῖνον· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας Κάτωνι, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας
4 ἔθυεν ἐπινίκια καὶ περιχαρὴς ἦν. πῶς οὖν ἂν διετέθη καὶ πόσας ἔθυσεν ἡμέρας, εἰ Κράσσος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἔγραψε νικᾶν, εἶτ' ἐπελθὼν Μηδίαν, Περσίδα, Τρκανούς, Σοῦσα, Βάκτρα, Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίας ἀπέδειξεν ; εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην,[1] ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένους μηδὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἰδότας, οὐ Σκάνδειαν, οὐ Μένδην ἐκκοπτέον, οὐδὲ φεύγοντας
5 Αἰγινήτας ἀπολελοιπότας τὴν ἑαυτῶν, ὥσπερ ὄρνιθας εἰς ἑτέραν χώραν ἀποκεκρυμμένους, ἐκθηρατέον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ τιμητέον τὸ ἀδικεῖν, μὴ ῥᾳδίως μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ὥς τι φαῦλον ἢ μικρόν, προϊεμένους τὸ δίκαιον. οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ὁρμὴν ἐπαινοῦντες, τὴν δὲ Κράσσου ψέγοντες, οὐκ εὖ τὰ πρῶτα κρίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων.

V. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις αὐταῖς Νικίου μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα γενναῖα· καὶ γὰρ μαχαις πολλαῖς ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν Συρακούσας ὀλίγον ἐδέησε, καὶ πάντα δι' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔπται-

[1] Eteocles in the *Phoenissae*, 524 f. (Kirchhoff):

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν· τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.

adopted the same principles. For Pompey met with opposition from the senate when his province was allotted to him, and when Caesar routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato moved in the senate that he should be delivered up to those whom he had vanquished, and so bring upon his own head the punishment for his breach of faith; but the people turned contemptuously from Cato, sacrificed to the gods for fifteen days in honour of Caesar's victory, and were full of joy. What, then, would have been their feelings, and for how many days would they have sacrificed to the gods, if Crassus had written to them from Babylon that he was victorious, and had then overrun Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and declared them Roman provinces? "For if wrong must be done," as Euripides says, when men cannot keep quiet, and know not how to enjoy contentedly the blessings which they already have, then let it not be in raiding Scandeia or Mende, nor in beating up fugitive Aeginetans, who have forsaken their own, and hidden themselves away like birds in another territory, but let a high price be demanded for the wrongdoing, and let not justice be thrown to the winds lightly, nor on the first best terms, as if it were some trifling or insignificant thing. Those who have praise for Alexander's expedition, but blame for that of Crassus, unfairly judge of a beginning by its end.

V. As to the actual conduct of their expeditions, Nicias has not a little to his credit, for he conquered his enemies in many battles, and barely missed taking Syracuse, and not all his failures were due to himself, but they might be ascribed to his

σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσον ἄν τις αἰτιάσαιτο καὶ φθόνον τῶν οἴκοι πολιτῶν· Κράσσος δὲ διὰ πλῆθος ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδὲν τῇ τύχῃ χρηστὸν ἀποδείξασθαι παρῆκεν. ὥστε θαυμάζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν οὐ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως ἡττηθεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐτυχίας περιγενομένην.

2 Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ μὲν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπὸ μαντικῆς καταφρονῶν, ὁ δὲ πάντα ὑπερορῶν ὁμοίως ἀπώλοντο, χαλεπὴ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἡ ἀσφάλεια καὶ δύσκριτος, ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ[1] τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ αὐθάδους τὸ μετὰ δόξης παλαιᾶς καὶ συνήθους δι' εὐλάβειαν ἁμαρτανόμενον.

Περὶ μέντοι τὴν τελευτὴν ἀμεμπτότερος ὁ Κράσσος οὐ παραδοὺς ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ δεθεὶς οὐδὲ φενακισθείς, ἀλλ' εἴξας τοῖς φίλοις δεομένοις καὶ παρασπονδηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων· ὁ δὲ Νικίας αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ἀκλεοῦς ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας ὑποπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσχίονα ἑαυτῷ τὸν θάνατον ἐποίησεν.

[1] ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ a following αὐτῆς of the MSS. is suspected by Coraës, lamely defended by Sintenis, and bracketed by Bekker.

disease and to the jealousy of his fellow-citizens at home; but Crassus made so many blunders that he gave fortune no chance to favour him. We may not therefore wonder that his imbecility succumbed to the power of the Parthians, but rather that it prevailed over the usual good fortune of the Romans.

Since one of them was wholly given to divination, and the other wholly neglected it, and both alike perished, it is hard to draw a safe conclusion from the premises; but failure from caution, going hand in hand with ancient and prevalent opinion, is more reasonable than lawlessness and obstinacy.

In his end, however, Crassus was the less worthy of reproach. He did not surrender himself, nor was he bound, nor yet beguiled, but yielded to the entreaties of his friends, and fell a prey to the perfidy of his enemies; whereas Nicias was led by the hope of a shameful and inglorious safety to put himself into the hands of his enemies, thereby making his death a greater disgrace for him.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acharnae, 95, the largest deme, or township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.

Aesop, 419, a Greek writer of fables, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Fables bearing his name were popular at Athens in the time of Aristophanes.

Agatharchus, 41, of Samos, prominent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter 460–420 B.C. Cf. the *Alcibiades*, xvi. 4.

Alopecé, 33, a deme, or township, of Attica, some two or three miles east of Athens.

Anacreon, 5, of Teos, a popular lyric poet, honoured at the courts of Polycrates of Samos and Hipparchus of Athens, lived *circa* 563–478 B.C.

Anaxagoras, 11, 21, 53 f., 291, of Clazomenae, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.C.

Andros, 35, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, to the S.E. of Euboea.

Antisthenes, 5, the Socratic, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates, *circa* 450–366 B.C.

Archilochus, 5, of Paros, a roving soldier-poet of the earlier part of the seventh century B.C., famous for his satyric iambics.

Arginusae islands, 109, three small islands lying between Lesbos and the mainland of Asia Minor.

Autocleides, 293, an Athenian, of unknown date, author of a work on sacrificial ritual and tradition.

B

Balissus, 385, a small tributary of the Euphrates, south of Carrhae.

Brasidas, 237, the ablest and noblest Spartan leader during the first decade of the Peloponnesian war. He attempted to rob Athens of her allied cities in the north.

Brundisium, 365, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and the chief naval station of the Romans on the Adriatic Sea.

C

Carrhae, 395, 403–409, a town in the northern part of Mesopotamia.

Casinum, 135, the last city of Latium towards Campania on the Via Latina.

Catana, 263–267, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Tauromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.

Caunians, 309, Caunus was a city of Caria, in Asia Minor, belonging to the Rhodians.

Chersonesus, 35, 59, the Thracian Chersonesus (peninsula), extending southwards into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.

Cholargus, 41, an Attic deme, or township, of uncertain site.

Clazomenae, 255, an Ionian city, situated on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.

Critolaüs, 21, of Phaselis in Lycia, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens, orator and statesman, eighty-two years of age when, in 156 B.C., he was sent on an embassy to Rome (see the *Cato Major*, xxii.).

D

Damon, 11, probably the same person as Damonides of Oea (p. 27).

Damonides, 27, of Oea, probably the same person as Damon (p. 11).

Delos, 35, 217, the central island of the Cyclades group, east of Attica.

Diphilus, 209, a prominent poet of the New Comedy, 336–250 B.C.

Duris, 79, the Samian, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, *circa* 350–280 B.C.

E

Egesta, 251, or Segesta, an ancient city in the N.W. of Sicily, neither Greek nor native Sicilian, said to have been founded by Trojans.

Eleusis, 41, the sacred city of the Mysteries, some twelve miles west of Athens.

Ephorus, 79, of Cymé in N.W. Asia Minor, a pupil of Isocrates, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epidaurus, 103, a city on the north-eastern coast of Peloponnesus, noted for its cult of Aesculapius.

G

Galatia, 365, the central province of Asia Minor, occupied by Gallic tribes from Europe late in the third century B.C.

H

Heracleides, 79, 103, called Ponticus from his birth in Heraclcia of Pontus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects.

Hyrcania, 377, 435, a district of central Asia lying immediately south of the Caspian Sea.

I

Idomeneus, 31, 103, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342–270 B.C.), author of biographical works entitled "The Socratics" and "The Demagogues."

Ion, 13, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., and author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

L

Lampon, 15, the most famous seer of his time, apparently trusted by Pericles. He played a prominent part in the colonization of Thurii, 444 B.C.

Leocrates, 53, commander in the final triumph of Athens over Aegina (456 B.C.).

Leontini, 251, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, lying between Syracuse and Catana, about eight miles inland.

Luca, 257, the southermost city in Caesar's province of Cisalpine Gaul, afterwards included in Etruria.

Lycurgus, 425, Athenian orator and statesman, 396-323 B.C.

M

Margiana, 387, a district in central Asia lying south of Scythia and west of Bactria.

Melissus, 75, a native of Samos, and a disciple of Parmenides. Malicious report made him a teacher of Themistocles (*Themistocles*, ii. 3).

Metellus, 431, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Macedonicus, won victories over Macedonian and Achaean armies in Greece, but could not bring the war to a close before he was superseded by Mummius (146 B.C.).

Mummius, 431, Lucius, superseded Metellus in 146 B.C., and completed the subjugation of Greece by the capture of Corinth.

Myronides, 53, leader of the "reserves" in the Athenian victory over Corinth in 458 B.C., and in the following year victor over the Boeotians at Oenophyta.

N

Naxos, 35, 219 (Naxians), the largest island of the Cyclades group, lying half-way between Attica and Asia Minor.

Naxos, 267, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, on the N.E. coast, just south of Tauromenium.

P

Parmenides, 11, of Elea in Italy, founder of a school of idealistic philosophy (see Zeno the Eleatic).

Pasiphon, 219, of Eretria, a notorious imitator of the Socratic disciples, to whom he attributed his own compositions, *circa* 300–250 B.C.

Petelia, 347, an ancient city and district of Bruttium.

Pheidias, 5, 89 f., of Athens, the greatest sculptor and statuary of Greece, *ob.* 432 B.C.

Philetas, 5, of Cos, a poet and critic of the earlier Alexandrian school, who flourished under the first Ptolemy (*circa* 318–275 B.C.).

Philistus, 209, 277, 307, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.

Philochorus, 293, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306–260 B.C.

Polycleitus, 5, of Argos, a famous sculptor, statuary, and architect, who flourished *circa* 452–412 B.C.

Polycrates, 77, tyrant of Samos from about 530 till his death in 522 B.C. His career forms one of the great features of the third book of Herodotus.

Poseidonius, 175, of Apamcia in Syria, a distinguished Stoic philosopher, resident in Athens, Rhodes, and Rome, contemporary with Cicero.

Protagoras, 291, of Abdera in Thrace, the first to call himself a "sophist," and to teach for pay. On a third visit to Athens, about 411 B.C., he was accused of impiety and fled, but only to perish at sea.

Pylos, 231, 245, 247, an ancient city on the west coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus, on a promontory commanding the north entrance to the great bay of Pylos (the modern Navarino).

S

Seleucia, 367 f., 369, 379, 417 f., the Seleucia which was built by Seleucus Nicator, on the right

bank of the Tigris, about forty miles N.E. of Babylon.

Sphacteria, 231, an island lying in front of the great bay of Pylos.

Stesimbrotus, 25, 47, 75, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note at Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.

T

Tanagra, 33, a town in eastern Boeotia, between Thebes and Attica.

Thapsus, 267, a peninsula just to the north of Syracuse.

Theophrastus, 67, 103, 111, 241, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was a native of Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Timaeus 209, 275, 307, of Tauromenium in Sicily, whose life falls between the years 350–250 B.C., during a long exile in Athens wrote a voluminous history of his native island from earliest times down to 264 B.C.

Timon, 11, of Phlius, a composer of satiric poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy, 320–230 B.C.

Tolmides, 53, 59, 61, leader of an Athenian naval expedition round Peloponnesus in 455 B.C., and of other expeditions by sea.

Tralles, 421, a large and flourishing city of Caria, in Asia Minor.

X

Xenarchus, 209, apparently cited by Plutarch as an historian; but no historian of this name is known.

Xypeté, 41, an Attic deme, or township, near Phalerum or Piraeus.

Z

Zacynthus, 291, an island off the N.W. coast of Peloponnesus, the modern Zante.

Zeno, 11, the Eleatic, a disciple of Parmenides, with whom he visited Athens when Socrates was a very young man (Plato, *Parmenides*, p. 127 a).

Zeuxis, 41, of Heraclea in Magna Graecia, the most celebrated painter of antiquity, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth and the earlier part of the fourth centuries B.C

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,
BRUNSWICK STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E.,
AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

DATE DUE

Unless this book is returned on or before the last date stamped below a fine will be charged. Fairness to other borrowers makes enforcement of this rule necessary.

JUN 5 '42				

920 P74p v.3 6598

Plutarch

Lives

COLLEGE MISERICORDIA LIBRARY

T 34039